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TEMPORAL CONSTRUCTS AND "ADMINISTRATIVE DETERMINISM": A CASE STUDY FROM THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

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Abstract: This paper considers time regulation as an aspect of Canadian governmental and institutional management of the lives of the Inuit. Utilizing data from the eastern Keewatin region it contrasts "land time" (literally time on the land, but also the traditional Inuit temporal orientation) with the chronometrically regulated time of the town. Its conclusions are twofold: time management is a part of a larger administrative design for the Inuit (and, parenthetically, indigenous peoples everywhere). This structuring of Inuit life around schools, jobs and government agencies cuts the Inuit off from the land and contributes to the severing of ties with their own past. Secondly, the paper offers the theoretical conclusion that for Sociology and Anthropology the study of time and temporal constructs provides an important and potentially rich field for research. In particular, the significance of the imposition of external temporal orders upon indigenous peoples has yet to be fully examined.

Résumé: Ce discours considère le réglage du temps comme un aspect de la gérance gouvernementale et institutionnelle canadienne de la vie des Inuits. En utilisant de l'information provenant de la région est du Keewatin, on contraste «le temps de la terre» (littéralement, le temps sur terre, mais aussi l'orientation temporelle traditionelle des Inuits) avec le temps des villes, réglé par chronomêtre. Les conclusions sont de doubles envergures: la gérance du temps constitue une partie du schéma élargi administratif pour les Inuits (et, pour tous les peuples autochtones). Cette structuralisation de la vie des Inuits autour des écoles, des emplois et des agences gouvernementales sépare les Inuits de la terre et contribue à la rupture des liens avec leur propre

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passé. L'article propose la conclusion théorique que, pour la sociologie et l'anthropologie, l'étude du temps et des structures temporelles offre un domaine important et, potentiellement riche de recherches. La signification de l'imposition d'ordres temporels externes à des peuples indigènes doit—en particulier—encore être examinée au complet.

The temporal order varies cross-culturally. Whatever concepts of time (if any), or system of time-reckoning a people utilize, however simple or complex their calendrical system, they regulate their lives in distinctive systematic patterns. Moreover, the temporal co-ordinates by which they existentially order themselves constitute key elements in their sense of self-identification and societal integrity. This is nowhere more apparent than in situations in which the temporal order of one society is imposed on another. In his study of Western anthropological perspectives on "primitive" people, Johannes Fabian uses the term "chronopolitics" to characterize an important aspect of Western domination of tribal peoples:

> the expansive, aggressive and oppressive societies which we collectively and inaccurately call the West needed Space to occupy. More profoundly and problematically, they required Time to accommodate the schemes of a one-way history: progress, development, modernity (and their negative mirror images: stagnation, under-development, tradition). In short, *geopolitics* has its ideological foundations in *chronopolitics*. (Fabian 1983:144; italics in original)

In this paper we consider the significance of the imposition of linear chronometric temporal concepts and behavioural patterns on the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic.[1]

The locus of Inuit life in the contemporary Canadian north is the town: a community comprising anywhere from a few hundred to a few thousand native persons and a very much smaller group of non-Natives (Eurocanadians). But, despite their numerical preponderance in such communities, the Inuit are subject to the management of the larger Eurocanadian society in virtually every institutional setting they occupy. Indeed, the town itself (and we use the term here to refer to what are officially designated "settlements," "villages," and "towns" according to size) is an artifact of 20th-century Canadian political, economic, religious and educational management of the Inuit people. Here, life is regulated daily in schools, workplaces, administrative agencies and churches by abstract Western chronometric time.

In the next section we consider temporal constructs as they have been discussed in the anthropological literature, in particular, "linearity" and

"cyclicity" as aspects of temporal processes. We then review some aspects of the ethnography and ethnohistory of one specific Arctic community in order to illustrate the structuring of Inuit life as a result of the progressive extension of Eurocanadian control over the past 30 years. The paper concludes with a discussion of the consequences of "chronological assimilation" for the Inuit throughout the Canadian Arctic.

Temporal Constructs in Non-Chronometric Societies

In one of the earliest and most seminal ethnographic treatments of time reckoning and temporal constructs Evans-Pritchard anticipated not only the fundamental issues but many of the conceptual problems that were to arise in subsequent studies (1940:94-108). Most significant are the distinctions he makes among (1) time-reckoning systems, (2) abstract conceptions of temporal processes, and (3) "history"—those linear links between the present and the past.

Nuer time reckoning, Evans-Pritchard observed, identifies a two-part year (*ruon*) which divides into a rainy and a dry season. Words for "year," "rainy" and "dry season" and the 12 lunar months are used, but this "ecological time" pattern is not anchored in the lunar or solar cycles but in the social and exploitative patterns associated with the horticultural village life of the wet season and the fishing/pastoral life of dry season camps:

> Oecological ["ecological"] time reckoning is ultimately, of course, entirely determined by the movement of the heavenly bodies, but only some of its units and notations are directly based on these movements, e.g., month, day, night and some parts of the day and night. (Evans-Pritchard 1940:102)

Thus Nuer ecological time is cyclical. Its unit is the year, not in the sense of a mathematically divided time span between two fixed benchmarks (i.e., January and December) but the full cycle of time between any two qualitatively similar patterns of human life and activity (Pocock 1967:305).

For the Nuer the annual seasonal round is the unit of ecological time. But cyclicities inhere in human social patterns as well. In his discussion of the cycle of domestic groups, Fortes pointed out that the succession of existential phases of birth, maturation and death have their analogues in the structural patterns of households as the group comes into existence with marriage, procreation and child rearing, passes into the phase of dispersion or fission with the maturation and marriage of the children, then cyclically repeats with the replacement of the household head by the oldest (or youngest) child (Fortes 1969:4-5). This structural replication in the subsequent generation ensures the perpetuation of the group. Halpern has utilized this notion of social cyclicity in his study of the South Slav *zadruga*. In this

case, long-term demographic data point to significant changes in community and familial composition through time. But the ideology of the persistent, cyclically recurring nuclear family contradicts the perceived linear flow of unpredictable events and irreversible change (Halpern and Wagner 1984).

The Inuit belief in "name souls" reflects a similar sense of temporal cyclicity on the social level as well. When a child is given the name of a deceased relative he/she reincarnates the spiritual essence of that person. Society replicates itself not merely in the replacement of the dead by the living but in the continuing rebirth of personal qualities. Williamson reports an incident from Rankin Inlet in the Canadian Northwest Territories, which attests to the continuing importance of the beliefs surrounding name souls:

> In the mid 1960's . . . a child had to be adopted into a family not related to her by kinship (which is unusual), because while away in hospital in the south and beyond access to the normal traditional sources of advice, the natural mother had named the child after someone who had very deeply offended . . . the natural father. His negative reaction to the reintroduction of this baleful essence into his nuclear family was what made the move necessary. (Williamson 1974:25)

Linear time (succession and duration) is Evans-Pritchard's "structural time":

> There is a point at which we can say that time concepts cease to be determined by oecological factors and become more determined by structural interrelations, being no longer a reflection of man's dependence on nature, but a reflection of the interaction of social groups. (Evans-Pritchard 1940:104)

Nuer linear or historical time is not based on some abstract external benchmark but links significant persons and events of the past with those of the present.

> One of the commonest ways of stating the year of an event is to mention where the people made their dry season camps or to refer to some evil that befell their cattle. . . . Weddings and other ceremonies, fights and raids, may likewise give points of time. (Evans-Pritchard 1940:104)

In similar fashion the Berens River Ojibwa tied their oral history to the life events of individuals, and like that of the Nuer, it was a shifting rather than a fixed record: "So long as the names, personal characteristics and activities of deceased individuals are carried in the memories of living persons, a useful, although non-quantitative and unformulized, frame of reference for past events is maintained" (Hallowell 1937:666). Oral history of this sort is short. Evans-Pritchard suggests that 50 years might be the extent

of Nuer historical recollections. Hallowell makes Salteaux time depth about 150 years.

Beyond this point history merges into the mythic past. A tree growing in Nuerland a few years before Evans-Pritchard's arrival was the tree under which humankind was created (Evans-Pritchard 1940:107). The Aivilingmiut term *eetchuk*, Carpenter tells us, signalled that the temporal setting of a story was in "time before known time." The tale might concern the Sadlermiut, recent but extinct residents of the area, or *tunik*, fearsome giants of the mythic past (Carpenter 1968:41).

Linearity is then the non-recurrent, or "vertical" dimension of temporal construction. It is seen on the individual level in the personal autobiography. It is tied to the immediate past by the individual's pedigree, the "charter" by which people present themselves as the descendants of specific ancestors (see, for instance, Fortes 1969).

Technical Time

Technical time, mathematically based, mechanically, electronically or geophysically regulated, is the clock and calendar time of Western society. Unlike the time reckoning systems of non-chronometric, non-calendrical peoples, technical time is abstract, quantitative, integrated and homogeneous. Technical time is external to human activity, unlike the "process marking" (Hallpike 1979:345) that characterizes Nuer, Inuit or Saulteaux seasonal reckoning. This ordering in modern society provides a uniform framework within which human activities take place and are co-ordinated. This is a powerful and pervasive means of cognitive control in modern society. Pocock (1967:306) has pointed out that "the more diverse are the activities of a number of people or groups, the more abstract and systematic must be the time reckoning if any form of coordination is desired or effected." Thus, the clock, as Mumford noted, "is not merely a means of keeping track of the hours, but of synchronizing the actions of men" (Mumford 1936:14).

Technical time has both cyclical and linear dimensions. The clock face is a circle. The digital clock returns to one after its 12 or 24 hour linear progression. The named days return week by week, the named months year by year. But the quantitative precision of cyclical time ensures that its units are by some objective measure the same. Hence, our reification of minutes or seconds of time into tagmemic slots into which we "drop" activities or into commodities which we can "save," "spend" or "waste."

This measured chronometric time is the calendar time of the years and centuries. It is numerical, exact, and anchored in historical benchmarks. Even the "typological time" (Bailey 1983) of historical, archaeological,

and geological studies in which "eras" or "epochs" or "cultural horizons" are identified, is ultimately linked for us in some approximation to years as we reckon them. Like Hutton's geological "uniformitarianism," the past is distant from but temporally equitable to the present.

Linear time is the framework of history and prehistory for Western society. By means of linear temporal reckoning we co-ordinate the pasts of other peoples with our own, we chronologically absorb them as we spatially absorb them through territorial conquest.

Edlund has observed that "Humans do not merely live in different environments, they create them, feeling and molding the earth simultaneously. They use time itself as an ecological niche" (Edlund 1987:118).

This existential "ecological niche" exists at the intersection of cyclically returning "nows" and the line of successive "thens" of the past and future. The psychological literature on mental illness indicates that temporal awareness and orientation can be either causally or symptomatically implicated in psychopathologies. Without suggesting simplistic analogies or linkages between personality and society, we would propose that communal temporal constructs function in an important culturally integrative fashion and that their re-ordering and allocation have critical consequences for any people.

A significant feature of Inuit encapsulation within the Canadian socio-political system has been their subjection to a temporal paradigm that is not their own. Its "cycles" and "arrows" are those of the clock and the calendar. We consider the consequence of "chronopolitical" change in the following section.

Sociocultural Change in the Eastern Keewatin

Comprising the coastal and inland areas on the west side of Hudson Bay, the Keewatin district of the Northwest Territories extends from approximately 55° to 65° N latitude. With the exception of the northernmost part of the area (from Daly Bay to Repulse Bay) and Southampton Island, the area has been occupied for at least the last millennium by Caribou Eskimo groups. "Caribou Eskimo," a *kabloona* (i.e., non-Inuit, Eurocanadian) term, alludes to the generally inland, hunting orientation of most of these peoples. Similar to such terms as "Labrador" or "Central" Inuit, it carries no indigenously recognized cultural connotations. Emic terms such as Avviamiut ("people of the whale"), Aivaligmiut ("people of the walrus hunting place"), Padlimiut ("people of the source") do not designate corporate tribal entities, but loose regional groupings sharing common local cultural patterns, recognizable dialect features and a tendency to endogamous marriage. Regional groups were in turn composed of *ilagiit*, kindreds, which characteristically formed cooperating, co-resident sharing units.

Keewatin Inuit today occupy seven settlements: Eskimo Point, Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet, Baker Lake, Repulse Bay and Coral Harbour. Of these, Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet and Baker Lake are "town-size," i.e., in excess of 1000 people, the others range upwards from about 300 people.[2]

The history of European contact and settlement in the Keewatin has been dealt with in considerable detail (Vallee 1967; Vanstone and Oswalt 1959; Williamson 1974). It is necessary to note here only that some form of European contact was established in the 18th century with the building of Fort Prince of Wales at the present site of Churchill, Manitoba. Intermittent trade contacts continued until the 20th century, when trading posts, mission stations and Royal Canadian Mounted Police posts were established throughout the region.[3]

As Brody, Hughes, Jenness and others have pointed out (Brody 1975; Hughes 1965; Jenness 1964), Inuit economic dependency throughout the Canadian Arctic is datable to the beginning of their involvement in Euro-canadian exploitive enterprise. In the eastern Arctic and especially in the Keewatin this meant Arctic fox trapping, although sealing, whaling and the taking of walrus were also significant. Trade meant increased economic dependencies including guns, ammunition, traps, attractive and convenient foods, such as flour and tea, and luxuries such as tobacco. More significantly, commercial involvement irreversibly altered cyclical patterns of movement and exploitation on the land. *Ukiuk* and *auja*, the dominant seasons in Inuit life, reflect the two-part exploitive cycle characteristic of many Inuit groups: winters spent sea ice hunting for seals, summer spent on the land hunting geese, ducks and caribou, and fishing.

Fox trapping is a winter activity involving the setting and tending of traplines when the fur is thick and the pelt at its highest value. Commercial trapping of foxes tied the Inuit to a seasonal activity, utilizing techniques and equipment that were foreign to them and focussed upon an animal that was traditionally virtually ignored. In trapping for trade rather than for local use the Inuit became dependent upon fluctuating external market demands, as mediated through the Hudson's Bay Co. and other traders. Moreover, fur production ultimately depended on the persistence of animal stocks subject to uncontrolled exploitation beyond sustainable levels. An elderly Inuk informant recalled: "I remember when a man would have a hundred traps. There would be maybe a few thousand out on the land around here in those times" (L.C. fieldnotes 1983).

In the Keewatin the collapse of fur trapping between 1945 and 1955 coincided with a radical decline in caribou herds and led to widespread starvation. The Padlimiut and Ahiamiut, two of the interior groups, were most severely hit. Middle-aged Padlei people recall life in the camps in their child-

hood: "We were eating our clothes, skin clothes. We had no dogs, we ate them. There were no caribou. My brother and sister died there at the [Maguse] River" (L.C. fieldnotes 1983).

The "Padlei Starvation," as dramatic and widely publicized as it became, was only one part of the process of movement off the land in the Keewatin region. Trapping and trade had increasingly led to settlement in more or less sedentary camps within reach of trading posts and mission stations. In fact, the tendency to cluster in settled camps at such sites led the RCMP in some areas to forbid Inuit families to camp nearby unless a family member was employed in the settlement (Van Stone and Oswalt 1959).

Wage work at Distant Early Warning (DEW) line sites, mission stations and later at clinics and schools, as well as scattered opportunities for work in mines and other (sometimes short-lived) industrial or commercial developments, were important economic factors in the settlement period as well. More generally, as government installations such as clinics and schools appeared, community life became increasingly attractive. To the Inuit on the land the many useful commodities, as well as the relief funds which were available there, were reason enough to consider abandoning their traditional life and moving to the settlements (Brody 1975).

The last years of the 1950s saw the onset of an intense period of government regulation of the lives of Inuit peoples. Although ultimately a federal concern, the development of the Northwest Territories (and Yukon) was in part administered through territorial government structures. The establishment of schools and the enactment of a mandatory school attendance ordinance tied families to the settlements for 10 months of the year. Welfare and other transfer payments made life on the margin of a cash economy possible. The gradual installation of government-built houses heated by free oil, lit by free electricity and serviced with free water, sewage and garbage disposal completed the process of urbanization in the Keewatin.

In his 1960s study of Baker Lake, Vallee noted a significant dichotomy in the Inuit population of the community. Land and tradition-oriented people (the *nunamiut*—"people of the land") contrasted sharply with the *kabloonamiut*—"people of the whites." The latter, usually bilingual, typically employed in schools, clinics, stores, government offices and in public service occupations played a mediating role *vis-à-vis* the *nunamiut* assisting them to adapt to the settlement and to the *kabloonas* in charge of its various institutions (Vallee 1967). But a generation later one can no longer make the distinction (Brody 1975:168). All Keewatin Inuit are permanent town dwellers now. Wage work, transfer payments, small business enterprises, trapping and crafts sustain them in the settlement economy.

Town Time and Land Time

It is not accidental that all of the settlements of the Keewatin region (and most other Arctic areas as well) bear English names: Whale Cove, Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet. The names celebrate the whites who first visited these places or recollect their observations or adventures on their travels through the region. (Inuktitut names for these places exist and Inuit have been securing official recognition for these indigenous names in recent years.) The names also reflect the fact that Arctic settlements are in essence Euro-canadian installations and that, directly or indirectly, Inuit are there solely because of the white presence in the Arctic:

> Eskimos view their move to the settlement as a move *to* the whites even though most of them would be deeply reluctant to call themselves Qual-lunaarmiut (i.e., Kabloonamiut). And there is no doubt that Eskimos throughout the Canadian Eastern Arctic have become superficially more like whites. (Brody 1975:168)

The move "to the whites" meant the relinquishment of responsibilities as well, including responsibilities imposed by the cyclical demands of the land, the necessity for seasonal preparation for the next phase of the year's exploitive activity. An older Inuit recalled:

> When we were living inland we thought ahead, next year, next winter. During summer we used to get ready for winter, to survive that year. . . . Here [in the settlement] we don't travel anymore, we don't think ahead anymore. I think the change came when the government came in. That's when people started living in one place. We were given welfare and didn't want to leave the place. (L.C. fieldnotes 1983)

The process was especially abrupt in the eastern Keewatin because of threatened and actual starvation resulting from the coincident decline of both caribou (essential for food) and Arctic fox (essential for cash for the purchase of guns, ammunition and food staples). Many of the Hudson Bay coastal communities became, in effect, refugee camps to which people migrated or were transported because they could no longer live inland. Movements to settlements were often not matters of personal choice, but emergency measures either by government agents (the RCMP for instance) or the people themselves.

The establishment of schools was also an important factor in anchoring populations to settlements, particularly as receipt of family allowances could be dependent upon children's attendance at school (Oswalt and Van Stone 1959).

Researchers have frequently stressed the apparent ease with which Inuit, as contrasted with Canadian Indians, have adapted to town life. Honigmann

and Honigmann (1965), comparing Inuit and Cree at Great Whale River, found that the Inuit adjusted much more readily to life in the community. Barger (1977), using measures of "psychosocial adjustment" for the same populations, found the Cree "adjusted," but not as well "adapted." Brody (1975) and Vallee (1967) have pointed out, however, that the apparent "adaptation" is often based upon a certain uneasiness in dealing with Eurocanadians, fear of angering them and a more deeply rooted concern for the maintenance of smooth interpersonal relations, all of which can be perceived as friendliness and cooperation. Williamson comments:

> The Eskimo word which almost all white people learn very early in their contact with the Eskimo in Keewatin—because they hear it so frequently—is *amai* . . . which means "one does not know." This word is used protectively with great frequency by the Keewatin Eskimo in contact with the whites . . . and is a form of antenna as well as a general barrier. Fear, lack of ease, or lack of certainty as to what the white people have in mind (they are notorious in the minds of the Eskimo for inconsistency)—combined with the influence of the value system—cause the Eskimo to adopt in many instances a position which, at least until they are sure of themselves, does not commit them. (Williamson 1974:168)

A tendency to passive acceptance—"adaptation" to the Honigmanns and Barger—might be viewed as the response of Inuit to a world engineered for them by the Eurocanadians.

Despite their overwhelmingly preponderant numbers, Inuit constitute a client population in communities established and dominated by whites. The caste-like disjunctures between whites and Inuit in Arctic communities have been the subject of frequent commentary (Dunning 1959; Brody 1975). Early in the history (i.e., 1959) of the Eskimo Point community, Oswalt and Van Stone observed, "There is every indication that village-wide social integration does not exist"(Oswalt and Van Stone 1959:21). This lack of social integration is also reflected in Inuit leadership patterns in the settlements.

> It is not surprising that in this social milieu Eskimo leadership is poorly developed beyond the family level and no one individual represents a significant segment of the population. The only discernible leaders are the whites who control political, economic and religious activities. (Dunning 1959:2)

In a similar vein, Brody points out that in general, eastern Arctic Inuit tend to surrender responsibility to whites who are in many senses the proprietors of the communities (1975:169).

There have been changes since Oswalt and Van Stone wrote in the 1950s, Vallee in the 1960s and Brody and Williamson in the 1970s. Keewatin communities have grown radically—Eskimo Point and Rankin Inlet at the

present time are approaching 10 times the size of the original settlements. The tarpaulin and plywood shacks, tents and winter snow houses have been largely replaced by two and three-bedroom bungalows, the primitive water supply and sewage disposal services have been much improved, and the disparities in living arrangements between whites and Inuit are not as obvious. School committees and settlement council members, mayors, housing authorities and wildlife conservation officers are typically Inuit. The co-op store is staffed and managed by Inuit, and smaller enterprises such as convenience stores and Bombardier travel services are owned by Inuit. Inuit sit on the Territorial Council of the Northwest Territories and in the Canadian federal parliament.

Menial jobs are still held by Inuit in the settlements—garbage, sewage disposal, water and oil supply, snow ploughing, janitorial services. However they are typically found in "middle level" positions as well: as clerks in stores, translators for government service officers and as nurses' aides and managers of electric power installations and other public services.

But the observations on local level social integration and leadership made in the 1960s and 1970s would still be valid today. The institutional structures of Arctic communities are of southern white design and they are ultimately externally managed. Their economic bases rest upon external subsidization and their socio-political structures upon a framework of *kabloona* institutions: schools, stores, churches, community services and airports.

The initial impression of the Southern visitor to a Keewatin Arctic settlement is the sense of its being grafted onto the landscape. It stands alone without connecting roads, without visual evidence of its *raison d'être*. The glaring disjuncture between landscape and community persists as one becomes familiar with it as a social milieu. Schools, businesses, clinics and government offices operate as in the south. Apart from the presence of northern hunting and trapping gear and Arctic clothing, the facilities for fur purchasing, the paternalistic signs telling people to eat vegetables, keep their dogs chained and avoid social diseases, and the high prices, there is nothing to suggest an Inuit clientele in either the Hudson's Bay Store or the Inuit owned Co-op. At Eskimo Point, Kreterklik school is a large, modern metal structure designed on the "open concept" plan with class areas separated by baffle screens, carpeted floors and acoustic tile to muffle the noise. A circular and sunken amphitheatre opens off the foyer and is used for school assemblies and for occasional Inuit cultural activities, including visits by drum dancers, throat singers or elders who come to talk about the old ways. Inuktitut syllabic cards line the walls in the lower grades, and Inuit classroom assistants translate for the English-speaking teachers or they conduct sessions in Inuktitut on their own.

The school operates on a typical five-hour day, five-day week, 150-day year. It closes at the beginning of June for two months. The choice of June and July as vacation months is to accommodate the move out onto the land which will largely empty the community for the summer months and which has already begun with weekend trips in April and May. The school almost never closes for bad weather. The children all live in the village and will make their way through blinding blizzards to be in class. (Attendance is consistently at about 66%). The Northwest Territories School Attendance ordinance is not rigidly enforced, especially if children are out on the land with their parents, but parents may be spoken to if children are simply hanging around the coffee shop arcade or if they are missing school because they have been out playing all night.

Like the school, the community as a whole replicates any small urban settlement in southern Canada. The southern white visitor experiences a minimum of discomfort in most Inuit homes in the settlement. The living arrangements, furnishings and appliances are similar to those in the south: bedrooms, living, dining, kitchen areas, bathrooms, usually refrigerators and stoves. Reminders of the nearness and importance of the land are there: caribou carcasses in a box outside, frozen fish stored in the porch, perhaps a haunch of caribou or portions of seal thawing in the furnace room or on newspapers on the kitchen floor.

Technical time dominates the environment of the settlement. Children go to school and many adults go to an office or store or other work place at 9 a.m. They return home at noon for lunch. Children populate the streets after 3:30 p.m. and adults return home at 4:30 or 5:00 p.m.

There may be conflicts over the temporal ordering of life. A young Inuit translator for a (*kabloona*) social service worker commented, "She gets mad at me for being late or leaving early. Sometimes I stay off in the afternoon and go goose hunting. That makes her mad too—even if she is up in Rankin (Inlet) and I have nothing to do, she wants me there" (L.C. fieldnotes).

At Rankin Inlet Williamson found evidence that time schedules caused some distress to the Inuit, "one significant source of anxiety among the acculturating Eskimos at Rankin Inlet has been the modern preoccupation with time . . . every Eskimo home and person is plentifully supplied with time pieces"(Williamson 1974:123).

> An illustration of how important the Eskimo often felt that time is to White people—is the tendency . . . of men to stay away from a shift (i.e., at the local mine) if they seem likely to be late, indicating that they believe that the White bosses value punctuality even more than the presence of an individual to undertake a necessary job. (Williamson 1974:123-124)

At Eskimo Point during the twilight nights of the Arctic spring, children and young adults can be seen out and about the settlement until dawn, driving snowmobiles, sliding on the town "snowhill" (the roof of the curling rink) or lounging in groups on the road. Teachers comment that this is a bad time for punctuality (or indeed, attendance) at school as the youngsters may remain out until daylight then sleep through most or all of the school day.

Indigenous time, the sequencing of activities according to Inuit patterns can be seen in "Tradition Days" or "Heritage Days" at the school. In one corner of the schoolyard a man demonstrates how a *komatik* (sled) is loaded and hitched to a dog team, elsewhere boys are shown how to throw a harpoon, set a fox trap or build a snow house. But there is a leisurely disorder about the activities: the trapper may have decided to go out on the land that day, the snow might not be right for building igloos or the throat singers may have decided to stay home or come later; the children, out of the confining order of the classroom, might find more interest in kicking a ball through the snow than attending to the land skills lessons being offered to them.

Trips out to hunt and fish and shoot geese have a similar inner logic. The party of men or family groups may pause to play at sliding on the snowy slope of an esker or to have tea and a leisurely chat. The children may busy themselves piling up stones into miniature *inukshuks* (stone markers). The hunt is dictated by the predicted movement of the caribou or the wind direction that indicates that geese are or are not likely to appear that day. Food (raw caribou or fish or seal meat, bannock) lies about to be cut up and eaten according to personal want. The day drifts to a close at dark or twilight and gradually resumes with the brightening of morning.

But hunting and fishing trips and "Tradition Days" in the settlement, reflecting as they do the ecological cyclicity and traditional sequencing of land time, are encapsulated and structured into the technical temporal ordering of the settlement. Hunting and other exploitive activities are confined for most Inuit to relatively brief journeys regulated by the requirements of the town schedule. Families with children may extend their weekends on the land in the spring and fall and they will spend the summer vacation months on the land within ATC ("All Terrain Cycle") commuting distance if one or both parents work. But if they were missing on a trip from Eskimo Point to Rankin Inlet (150 miles north), or Baker Lake (300 miles north) such as their forebears would regularly have made, it is likely that land and air search parties would be sent out after them on the supposition that their snowmobiles or ATCs had broken down or run out of gas.

The establishment of settlements on the model of Eurocanadian communities, institutionally complete and temporally ordered by the time constructs of southern urban society has thus, in scarcely more than a genera-

tion, restructured the patterns of Inuit life. The seasonal migrations between sea ice and land, the orientation to the northward movement of caribou and game birds and the runs of char in the rivers have been replaced by a sedentary life in which exploitive activities have been largely encapsulated within the technical temporal framework of the settlement. Hunting and fishing occupy weekends, "long weekends" or holidays. Camping on the land (hunting, fishing, gathering bird's eggs) is a vacation activity which may have to be co-ordinated with settlement employment. Land life and the cyclicity of land time is thus disjoined from and dominated by town life and town time.

At the same time, the technical temporal cyclicities of the town create frameworks to which Inuit may have difficulty adapting. "Wasting time," "idle time," or even "killing time" are phenomena of the structured life of the town. For the young who are out of school or for the unemployed, town time may be filled with empty spaces. Brody observes, "Time weighs heavily on the young. Those who feel unable or disinclined to hunt and trap must spend many hours trying to amuse themselves, by meandering here and there in the villages, visiting, gossiping, sitting, dreaming" (1975:208-209). The temporal structure of the community dictates that amusements, meetings, youth activities, weekly movies, church services be scheduled (from an Inuit perspective) for arbitrary and indeterminate times and the gaps between them may be difficult to fill.

Consequently, from the perspective of linear time, the settlement is a Eurocanadian historical artifact with little connection to the Inuit past. Populations are mixed groups including persons from diverse regional groups, migrants from other settlements, refugees from distant places and their descendants, and whites. Its history is made and recorded by Eurocanadians in written documents. Its inception represents the beginning of time for those born and educated there. The settlement-born will continue to use the land, but the oral-historical links to its past could well disappear with the present generation of those who were born on the land.

Conclusion

In his concept of "state formation" Michel Foucault argues that a key element in the "technology of power" is the "functional site"—the locale in which discipline can be exercised and observation maintained: "functional sites . . . code a space that architecture generally left at the disposal of several different uses. Particular places correspond not only to the need to supervise . . . but also to create a *useful* space" (Foucault 1977:143-144; italics added).

The argument of this paper has been that the Inuit community is a "functional site" in Foucault's sense. It is an artifact of administration, a centre

for the dispensing of Canadian government services and the exercise of regulatory control. As the ethnohistoric data for the eastern Keewatin indicates, the history of Inuit settlement over the past 30 years has been the history of the establishment of mission stations, clinics, RCMP posts and schools around which Inuit groups have been encouraged or economically compelled to cluster. But a "functional site" is temporally ordered as well as spatially organized. The temporal order is based upon Western technical time: abstract, chronometric and synchronized. Church services, school, clinic and store hours, starting and quitting times at work sites are all co-ordinated and regulated. Land life and land time, while still integrally part of Inuit existence, are relegated to "off hours," weekends, spare time.

Inuit cope with temporal regimentation in several ways. Hunting and fishing trips onto the land often begin before the weekends and spill over into the following week. These are increasingly frequent in spring and end with many families permanently camped outside the community in the summer.

Alcohol and substance abuse can be viewed as temporal coping strategies as well. MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969:83-99) have used the phrase "time out" to refer to socially sanctioned times of drunkenness and licence. For the Inuit, in communities where alcohol and drugs are accessible (in one form or another they can probably be obtained in almost every settlement) "time out" can mean an escape into inebriation or euphoria from the temporal regimen which structures community life and work.

The linear axis of Western technical time constitutes an imposition on Inuit life as well. The Inuit historical and mythical past becomes folklore and legend. The history of the settlement, and more broadly of the Arctic as a whole, is absorbed into Western technical linear time. Taught in schools and preserved in books, this model of the past in which the Inuit are an objectified "other" (Fabian 1987) renders the Inuit a people disconnected from their own past. As a people they have largely lost their own "structural time."

In a review of the Canadian Indian reserve system, Peter Carstens has pointed out that the notion of native "acculturation" to Eurocanadian cultural patterns is both "unsatisfactory and misleading" as an account of patterns of change which ensued from European domination of indigenous North Americans. Rather, he argues, Indians (and Inuit) have been subject to what he terms "administrative determination" which "not only defined the boundaries of the land or territory . . . on which the Indians should settle, but the legal concept whereby Indians were to be recognized and, indirectly, the roles they should play" (Carstens 1971:128). For Indians, Carstens notes, the focus of deterministic control is the reserve, the lands set aside by treaty or government fiat, title to which is vested in the Canadian state.

Inuit have not been party to treaties nor subject to any single piece of legislation comparable to the *Indian Act*. They do not occupy reserves. In fact, by and large, they do not have any clearly defined titular relation to the lands over which they hunt or the settlements in which they live. However, as with Indians, they are residents of governmentally regulated and supported settlements. Following Carstens' characterization of reserve communities, Inuit settlements could be described as "ossified" social structures, indigenous neither in origin, nor in relation to the regions where they are located, nor linked to the cultural past of the people themselves. But these settlements are *temporal* constructs as well as human communities. They are linked into the ordered, technically chronometric fabric of Canadian society. In this process their ties with the cyclical temporal orientation of traditional Inuit life on the land and with the linear links to the Inuit past are, generation by generation, progressively severed.

"A whole world ends when its metaphors die," Anastasia Shkylnyk (1985:233) observes in her account of the destructive resettlement of a Northern Ontario Ojibwa community:

> the health of any society or collectivity depends upon a series of vital processes that allow individuals to grow, discover their identity and learn . . . the skills and ways of knowing of their people. (Shkylnyk 1985:231)

> All incentive to maintain cultural precepts, values and beliefs is lost if these things no longer work to structure reality. (Shkylnyk 1985:233)

As social scientists we metaphorize spatially. The fundamental concepts of sociology and anthropology are based upon relations in space: the group, the community, interaction. But a society or group orders its life temporally as well as spatially. Moreover, its sense of itself is predicated upon the cyclical temporal rhythms of days, months, years and generations and upon its linear progression out of the past where its roots lie.

As anthropologists we must restructure our conceptualization of society so as to take account of these temporal dimensions. This is nowhere more apparent than in the study of the large-scale social disruption and restructuring of the lives of indigenous peoples.

Notes

1. The ethnographic work on which this paper is based was carried out intermittently by the authors either jointly or independently over a period of years between 1978 and 1982. Work on time and temporal constructs was begun earlier by Halpern in connection with his work on the South Slav *zadruga* (Halpern and Wagner 1984) and was extended to incorporate Arctic data in his initial paper on the Inuit (1987). A joint paper on the subject of temporal constructs and Inuit mental health was read by Christie at the XIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Zagreb, Yugo-

slavia in July 1988 and a revised version of that paper appeared in *Social Science and Medicine* (Christie and Halpern 1990). A more general and theoretical treatment of our joint research has been prepared for publication in the near future (Halpern and Christie 1989).

2. For ethnographic treatment of the traditional Caribou Eskimo life way see Rasmussen (1930) and Birket-Smith (1929).
3. Other Inuit groups such as Aiviligmiut and Netsiligmiut are also represented in some of these communities.

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DEATH IN WINTER: CHANGING SYMBOLIC PATTERNS IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO PREHISTORY

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Abstract: In considering cultural changes in southern Ontario between about 250 B.C. and A.D. 1500, spanning the Middle and Late Woodland periods, an attempt is made to integrate settlement patterns, burials and ceramic decoration. It is suggested that long-term culture change can be understood as a result of the continual interaction between material culture, ritual, ideology, economy and social structure. The constant renegotiation of the meanings of material and ritual communication, including the accidental attribution of new meanings, can be a significant force for cultural change.

Résumé: En examinant les changements culturels dans le sud de l' Ontario entre environ 250 av. J.-C. et 1500 ap. J.-C., une période qui inclue le Sylvicole Moyen et le Sylvicole Supérieur, l'auteur tente d'intégrer les schémas d'établissement, les enfouissements et les décorations en céramique. Il suggère que les changements culturels à long terme peuvent être compris de résulter de l'intéraction continuelle entre la culture matérielle, le rituel, l'idéologie, l'économie et la structure sociale. La renégotiation constante des significations de la communication matérielle et rituelle, ainsi que les attributions accidentelles de nouvelles significations, peuvent constituer une force importante du changement culturel.

By "symbolism" I mean the embodiment in an action or object of a meaning that derives from the context rather than from the object or action itself. I intend it to stand for the signalling of a mental construct—the displaying of a mental or social reality which, because it has conceptual rather than material existence, cannot itself be put on display. I do not intend any implication that this symbolling behaviour is either conscious or unconscious. I am not concerned here with the psychological processes which may produce or support symbolizing behaviour, but rather with the ways in which a

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single overt action may have multiple functions, one of which is giving material expression to an unobservable, or poorly observable, social reality.

Nor am I suggesting that the symbolic content of actions will necessarily relate to definable, particular meanings, as in the familiar "red stands for danger." To say that an action is in part symbolic is simply to say that it derives from, and in turn plays a role in, a context of meaning—a network of ideas and experiences that render it plausible to both performer and observer. If a prehistoric hunter made an arrow point with notches in the side, when putting notches in the corner would have served equally well, it need not be because side notches "stood for" one thing whereas corner notches "stood for" something else. The hunter's action made sense within an interconnecting web of meanings, deriving from the social context, cultural tradition, the hunter's upbringing and training, the purpose for which the point was intended, possibly even some explicit "symbolic" meanings, and so on. The action was symbolic in that, to someone located within the appropriate context, it could be accurately read as embodying and conveying all of these meanings.

In this sense, all human behaviour has symbolic content. As Hodder (1986:354) has noted, "all 'cultural' acts or interpretations are ideological, which is not to say that they are only ideological, but that they have an ideological component." This is true in two different ways. First, I take it as a given that for almost any action there are alternative forms that the action may take and still serve its primary purpose. The particular form will be in part determined by the included symbolic messages.

Secondly, I believe that humans tend to presume a symbolic content for all actions, and therefore to respond not only to the act itself, but also to its perceived symbolic or ideological meanings (Hodder 1989b:69). The important implication of this is that the act and its symbolic content are mutually reinforcing. An action may be performed consciously for its primary material purpose, but since it will be read for its symbolic content as well, the most important result of the action may derive primarily from its perceived symbolic content.

For example, a structure may be built to provide shelter and definition for a social group. Other humans will respond to the structure on the presumption that its size, shape, location, architecture, etc. convey important social information. Some of that information will accurately reflect the symbolic content of the structure, but some of it may be unintentional. In terms of information theory, the message sent will be accompanied by a certain amount of noise and static. Since humans are instinctive interpreters of symbols and messages, a person observing the structure will react like someone listening to a garbled radio transmission—some of the static will be interpreted by the brain as making sense, and the meaning will become

transformed in the process, or a meaning may even be invented where none was intended. The point, then, is that the structure may be built for one purpose, but may come to be interpreted as having a different, or additional, purpose. Since people have no way of apprehending the "true" purpose of the structure or of automatically filtering out their erroneous perceptions, it is their perceptions that will structure their responses (Hodder 1988:68).

What is involved here is the inherent potential for ambiguity in social communication, verbal or otherwise. Communication is, of course, the means whereby social meanings are created, shared, re-created and transformed among members of a society. This is true not just of language. Embodying ideological information, material culture, like social interaction and ritual, "plays an active role in the production, reproduction and transformation of the social" (Miller and Tilley 1984b:149; Hodder 1984:66). As in any other form of communication, misunderstandings continually arise, but this is probably more true in the field of material culture than in language, where there are more opportunities for immediate corrections.

As Hodder (1989b:73) has pointed out, both the nature and context of ritual and material communications serve to make the messages more complex and more encompassing than those involved in language, and hence potentially more ambiguous. Furthermore, unlike verbal communication in which the context is usually obvious and can be used to resolve ambiguities, the messages in material culture "are often read in quite a different, 'distant,' context from that in which they were written" (Hodder 1989b:70). In part this is because material culture messages are often not shared in immediate, "face-to-face" contexts (for example, the interpretation of a structure), and, in effect, the "reader" must construct the appropriate context, and hence the correct interpretation, entirely out of past experience and ideological assumptions. Since material culture items, unlike the spoken word, tend to outlast the immediate context of their creation, the potential for misconstruing the context, and thus misinterpreting the message, is particularly high (Hodder 1988:68, 1989b:73).

Material culture expressions thus have a high potential for ambiguity, and correspondingly fewer means for ambiguity resolution. The net result is that there is a high probability of the wrong message being taken, with unintended social consequences. There will, of course, be instances in which these consequences will be trivial or short-lived, particularly if the unintended message is in conflict with a host of other messages being read simultaneously. There will also, however, be instances in which the unintended message and its social consequences can be made to make sense, either because they can be fitted into a changing pattern of social values, or because they appear to reinforce a changing role of the material object in question, or both (Weissner 1989:58). In fact, changes in either the social

system or the role of the material object are likely to exacerbate the process of misinterpretation, by making unintended, alternative interpretations appear plausible. The inferred symbolic content of material culture can thus be a powerful agent of social change (Hodder 1988).

In seeking explanations for long-term culture change, archaeologists have commonly resorted to environmental, demographic or economic changes, or to the operation of abstract processes like "adaptation." More recently, however, there has been a trend towards less deterministic explanations that explore instead the interactive relationship between ideology, power, social action and culture change (e.g., Hodder 1982a, 1982b, 1987, 1989a; Miller and Tilley 1984a). It is within this context that I would like to examine some of the cultural changes that appear to have occurred in south-central Ontario, between ca. 250 B.C. and A.D. 1500, spanning the Middle and Late Woodland periods.

Palisades

One of the ideas that led to the formulation of this paper is that of the possible symbolic significance of village palisades in the Late Woodland period of south-central Ontario. It is generally held by archaeologists that villages were palisaded for defensive and perhaps climatic reasons. Discussions of palisades usually refer to their role in and implications for warfare, and usually interpret them as physical barriers to prevent or impede access by attacking warriors (Jamieson 1990:81). Furthermore, the general increase in the strength of palisades in the late prehistoric period is usually taken as a sign that warfare increased in frequency and ferocity, the implication being that warriors began to try harder to gain access, and defenders had to build bigger and stronger walls to prevent it.

An unexamined point about palisades is that, whatever the motive in constructing a wall around a community, once built it will make a statement to others about the integrity of the community. A surrounding wall demarcates a community boundary, and divides the world into two parts: those on the inside and those on the outside. Even if the wall was built to keep out wind and snow, its construction means that any person is either inside the community or out of it; it is no longer possible to be ambiguous or peripheral. Furthermore, it is no longer possible to join the community unobtrusively, without making a political and social statement. A newcomer to a bounded community must either live outside the wall, or be brought inside the wall by occupying an empty "internal" space or by expanding the wall. Whatever the case, an obvious social statement will be made: "You are not yet inside," or "We have made a decision to admit you," or "We have expanded to encompass you."

It is just as true that palisades have implications for those living inside them, by constraining their mobility of residence, and thus their social placement. Just as it is no longer possible for an outsider to be peripheral, it is no longer possible for an insider to be truly marginal. A palisade serves as an expression of social control by containing those within, just as much as by excluding those without.

While I am not arguing that unbounded communities lack social definition or social boundaries, the existence of a wall tends to assign control over admission and exclusion to those inside, creating a power asymmetry, and thus the resulting actions must be political as well as spatial. A further implication of a physical boundary is that spatial ordering, and thus social ordering, within the community can no longer be perceived as continuous; at some spatial point, a change in category, from insider to outsider, must occur. Thus, the existence of a physical boundary creates a social structure.

As I have suggested above, the socio-political aspect of a community boundary may, under the right circumstances, come to be perceived as of greater importance, both by insiders and outsiders, than the need to block winter winds, or even than the need for physical protection. Moreover, if the importance of defining community boundaries or membership increases, the statement made by the wall can be underlined by making the boundary physically more imposing. Adding rows, increasing the height, reinforcing with interwoven elements and inserting military elements such as shooting galleries makes a more forceful statement: "This is a social boundary of some importance; if necessary it can be defended." Once the wall comes to be interpreted as a social boundary, it can then, in turn, be used as one.

Palisades first appear in southern Ontario at about A.D. 800 or 900 (Kenyon 1968; Noble and Kenyon 1972; Noble 1975a; Pearce 1978; Reid 1975). They are associated, and perhaps correlated, with a shift in subsistence involving the introduction of storable cultigens, and a shift in settlement from spring/summer macroband aggregations to winter villages (Noble 1975b:44). The early palisades are generally single rows of posts, and some do not appear to completely encircle the village (Reid 1975; Kenyon 1968). This has led some to suggest that they functioned as wind breaks or snow fences (eg. Reid 1975:7), an inference consistent with the identification of the villages as winter settlements. Others relate them to a rise in inter-group warfare. The military argument is weakened by the fact that the palisades do not seem to constitute a very formidable barrier, particularly if they do not go all the way around the village.

The point, however, is that the wall does not have to be impenetrable in order to signal the inadvisability of entering. Furthermore, even if they were built as windbreaks, they would inevitably convey the same message

of community boundary. The net result is the same in either case: palisades either were meant to have, or over time came to have, social importance.

I believe there is archaeological support in the subsequent history of palisades for the notion that their function was in part symbolic. In the late 15th century there began an obvious trend towards much heavier palisading on proto-Huron villages (Jamieson 1990; Ramsden 1990b), and this trend continued through the 16th and early 17th centuries. I remain unconvinced by the common interpretation that this necessarily represents a change in the strategy or intensity of warfare. First, there seems to be little evidence that there was a major change in the type of fortification used. Secondly, if the increase in the amount of scattered human bone on sites of this period did result from an increase in the frequency of warfare, as is often alleged, then the fortifications were not in fact more effective. Moreover, other lines of evidence that can be used to support the theory of increased warfare (e.g., Jamieson 1990) are equally plausible as evidence of boundary maintaining mechanisms. Thirdly, early historic references to Huron warfare describe an ambush and raid style of warfare in which two groups of warriors stand and shoot briefly at each other and then run away; the existence of larger-scale conflicts prior to the historic period is open to debate (cf. Ramsden 1990a; Jamieson 1990).

The strengthening of Huron palisades from the late 15th century onwards may relate to a number of factors. Some recent archaeological evidence suggests that one factor may have been a period of worsening climate, and the need to construct more effective wind and snow barriers (Fitzgerald and Saunders 1988). At the same time there was an apparent breakdown or realignment of traditional tribal groupings, and the onset of a period of village fission and fusion, long-distance village relocation and re-adjustments of social and political ties (Ramsden 1977, 1990b).

I do not deny the role of warfare in these events, nor would I necessarily argue against the possibility of an intensification of hostilities. I would, however, argue that the role of palisades is that they served not as impenetrable physical barriers per se, but rather as social signals. As such, they may not accurately reflect the state of warfare; they may instead depict political relations cast in a military metaphor, much as stocks of nuclear warheads do today. They delimit and define significant social aggregates, and signal the strength of group solidarity and the ease with which an outsider may expect to enter the group. As such, it is precisely during times of social upheaval, or of environmental stress, when access to resources may be contested or when social boundaries may be in doubt or in flux, that we would expect symbolic statements about group boundaries to be made most strongly, and when we would most expect structures to be misinterpreted as

political barriers. We would further expect this to be most true of groups whose social identity is newly forged as a result of realignments.

It is usual in Ontario Iroquoian archaeology to interpret changes in village structure, including the evolution of palisades, as reflecting the "emergence" of certain social systems and political structures familiar from the historic records. In this view, the physical structures merely give form to, or serve to enforce, independently devised social structures that are often attributed to changes in economic strategy. There is rarely any consideration of the role that physical structures themselves may play in the formation of social structures or relations.

Changes in material culture meanings cannot occur randomly. If a social actor attributes an "incorrect" or "inaccurate" meaning to a material item, such as a palisade, she or he must both find and place that new meaning within a context that already exists, at least within the actor's mind. The evidence of early palisades is quite consistent with the view that they functioned as something analogous to wind or snow breaks. However, the fact that they could be interpreted as enclosing a community leaves them open to misinterpretation by contemporary archaeologists as much as by prehistoric Iroquoians (Hodder 1986:354), insofar as one may choose the wrong context for comparison. Longhouses, by all appearances similar in construction to early palisades, probably housed some kind of kin-based, socio-economic corporate group. If such houses were viewed as the most appropriate context for comparison and interpretation of palisades, the logical conclusion would have been (and remains) that villages also comprised stable corporate groups with social and economic functions. Such a comparison might also lead to the conclusion that social relations within the village were mediated by kinship, real or fictive.

Viewed in this light, the social and political structure of villages may have been partly a consequence of their changing physical structure and the ideological contexts in which this was evaluated by both insiders and outsiders. In turn, the physical structure could also be manipulated to influence people's perceptions of social and political reality. As they constantly reinforce and modify each other, neither the social nor the physical structure can be said to be the "cause" of the other.

Burials

Coincident with the changes in settlement and subsistence systems during the transition from Middle to Late Woodland was a change in the mortuary system. Of special interest here is the change from the use of designated cemeteries associated with the spring/summer camp in the Middle Wood-

land, to the eventual appearance of the ossuary burial system described for the 17th-century Hurons.

The Middle Woodland burial system may be characterized as one which made use of band cemeteries, sometimes, perhaps always, in association with the major summer macroband camp site (Finlayson 1977:575; Spence 1986:86). Typically, these cemeteries show signs of being used over considerable periods of time, and contain a variety of interment styles both primary and secondary, often with numerous grave offerings. Both the interment styles and grave offerings differ from one cemetery to another (Johnston 1968:71; Finlayson 1977:228-229, 511; Spence 1986; Spence, Pihl and Molto 1984). It has recently been suggested that these cemeteries served both to mark and identify band territories and to promote internal group cohesion, and that the families that made up the band made a point, where possible, of transporting deceased members to the cemetery for interment each spring (Spence 1986:92).

In the Middle Woodland period, then, band identity was marked by the presence of a permanent cemetery located strategically within the band territory, and band membership would have been marked by the right to bury deceased family members there, as well as the right to join other band members at the nearby spring/summer camp. Furthermore, participation in the rituals involved in interring family members in the band cemeteries provided feelings of group solidarity which may have been very functional in a situation of rather fluid band membership.

The burial system described for the historic Huron, and known archaeologically for the late prehistoric Huron, was structured differently, and I think was meant to signal some different things. As is well known, Huron villages maintained a village cemetery within which village residents were buried (Tooker 1967:130). The periodic relocation of the village was apparently the occasion for the disinterment of the village dead, and their reinterment in a common ossuary near the village. Two things are of note here. First, in spite of lineage and clan differences within the village dead, at the time of the ossuary burial all the bones were purposely mixed together, so that clan, lineage and even individual identities were destroyed. Secondly, the historic records suggest that people could be invited from other villages to bring their dead to the feast, and to have them too mixed in the mass of bones in the ossuary (Tooker 1967).

In part, this burial pattern is a reflection of Huron cosmology. Souls were considered to hang around the village cemetery until the Feast of the Dead, at which time they went off together to reside in a village of souls. But at the same time it participates in the ideological reality of village structure. As long as the living village exists, the dead continue to exist and function as individuals, and to carry on kin-structured relations with the living vil-

lage members. When the living village ceases to exist, the souls depart to their own village as a single entity, as symbolized by the mixing of their bones. Thus, while the village is in existence, social distinctions within it are openly recognized. But when the time comes to move, either to journey into a new area to establish a new village, or to journey out into the cosmos, the village residents are united. Just as the palisade around the village serves to signal the unity on one level of those inside as well as the degree of permeability of the group boundary, so too is the burial system a signal both of solidarity, and of the extent of membership and exclusion.

The sequence of changes from the Middle Woodland pattern to the Late Huron pattern may be summarized as follows. With the change from spring/summer macroband camps to winter villages, the major burial areas changed from discrete cemeteries to scattered burial areas within the villages, such as occur on early Late Woodland Glen Meyer and Pickering villages (ca A.D. 800-1200) (Kenyon 1968; Pearce 1978:20; Wright and Anderson 1969:11-13; M.J. Wright 1978:28). One obvious aspect of this change is that the burial areas are no longer separate from the habitations. The living and the dead share their bounded community. This is consistent with the suggestion that community boundaries soon took on social significance; on the other hand, the maintenance of the village dead within the palisade would strongly reinforce the social message.

Beginning about the time of the Middleport substage (ca A.D. 1300), the ossuary system began to crystallize, and this seems to have accelerated in the late 15th to early 16th centuries (Wright 1966; Noble 1975a). Is it a coincidence that as palisades were elaborated to emphasize village boundaries and group membership, the burial system was modified to reflect intra-village solidarity?

The later history of the ossuary burial system involves the elaboration of grave offerings in the historic period, at least at the ossuary stage, for which some unique socio-economic explanations can be suggested (Ramsden 1981), and the extension of ossuary membership to include people from selected other villages. In other words, in the late Huron period, the burial system marked a socially defined, significant group which coincided with the residential village in some cases, but transcended it in others. Neither the burial system nor the village's physical structure is a "reflection" of the other, nor can they both be accurate reflections of the same social reality. Instead, each is involved in its own way with the continual active negotiation of the social and ideological system.

Trends and Interpretation

Both settlement and burial systems in the Middle to Late Woodland periods can be interpreted as having symbolic content. Both systems also display changes through that time span that reflect a changing society. Those changes affect subsistence, settlement and social structure.

In the Middle Woodland period we can surmise that hunting-gathering-fishing bands inhabited a territory arranged around a spring/summer fishing camp where the largest group aggregation took place. At this camp was a cemetery where the past band members remained for eternity, marking the territory as belonging to that group. By contrast, present evidence suggests that there was little in the way of substantial residences, and nothing to denote community boundaries.

From a "symbolic" point of view we might suggest that what is being signalled by this combination of burial and settlement systems is the rights of a group, however defined, over the broad territory whose focus is the band cemetery. I would relate this to the fact that group membership in hunter-gatherer societies tends to be somewhat fluid, whereas long-term control over a particular territory is more crucial due to the harvesting requirements of hunter-gatherer subsistence items. In other words, such a band is defined by where it resides, rather than by who is in it.

On the other hand, when dealing with the more densely populated shifting agricultural Late Woodland society, territoriality over the long term may be less important, since the group has to move periodically in any case, and is at the same time less dependent upon wild resources. In a situation of resource stability and population density, and the consequent need to evolve mechanisms for stabilizing local populations and distancing them from other such local populations, a community may come to place more emphasis on who the group is rather than where it is. With the changing nature of land use and the changing nature of social identity, it may become more important to place boundaries around groups of people rather than around territories, and to maintain space between groups.

Looking at a smaller scale of material culture, it may also be possible to see expressions of these changes in ceramic decoration. It is possible to characterize Middle Woodland ceramic decoration as a series of immediately contiguous decorative zones cascading down the vessel, and filling all available space as they go (Finlayson 1977). By contrast, late Huron vessels are shaped so that there are clearly distinct vessel sections: collar, neck and body, and these are often further demarcated by horizontal design elements. Empty zones are common (Ramsden 1977). Middle Woodland potters, then, seem concerned with filling up contiguous spaces while distinguishing them stylistically. Huron potters on the other hand were more concerned with de-

fining and bounding discrete zones of decoration, and separating them with empty areas. Again, I would suggest that it is more than coincidence that this change in the structure of ceramic vessel decoration accompanied major shifts in subsistence, settlement and burial systems between the Middle and Late Woodland periods in southern Ontario. On the contrary, it seems more likely that many different aspects of behaviour and material culture were involved in these changing notions of space and boundaries.

Whereas explanations of culture change through the Middle and Late Woodland periods usually refer to such issues as changing subsistence base, increasing population and changing political structures, I believe an argument can be made that the ideological interpretation of ritual and material culture played a significant role. What I have suggested here is that the constant interplay between social actions and material objects on the one hand, and the ideological interpretation or misinterpretation of those actions and objects on the other, is responsible for observable patterns of cultural change. It is important to note that it is misguided to try to assign primacy to one sphere of activity as a cause of change; a shift in subsistence cannot lead to a change in settlement without a concomitant change in social and political ideology. At the same time, it is instructive to be aware of the potential role of material culture and ritual in both reinforcing and modifying social structure and ideology. It may well be that changing economic circumstances make new interpretations of objects and rituals entirely plausible, and, in turn, make the manipulation of those new interpretations for economic or political ends feasible.

During the Middle and Late Woodland periods, southern Ontario populations experienced profound cultural changes, including a shift in subsistence base from foraging to farming. Both ethnographic and archaeological evidence are consistent with the suggestion that this may have involved a change from an individualistic, egalitarian society in which social relations were negotiated through kinship, to a more communal, hierarchically ranked system in which both social and economic relations were negotiated by corporate groups.

Beyond a unilinear, evolutionist view, there is nothing "natural" or "predictable" about the ways in which culture changes, and it is most consistent with our everyday experience to suggest that sequences of events can be profoundly affected by "accidental" occurrences. What I have suggested here is that the continual reinterpretation of ritual and material culture, both accidental and purposeful, can be seen as playing a role in the particular ways in which native societies in southern Ontario evolved over several centuries after about A.D. 500. This is not just to suggest that such reinterpretation determined the particular forms of adaptation to changing subsistence or economy. On the contrary, it was precisely the continual

renegotiation of social, economic and political structures, through the reinterpretation and manipulation of material and ritual, that made it possible for the economy to change in the particular way that it did.

It will inevitably be argued that these interpretations are entirely speculative and largely untestable, and reduce culture change to chance events and opportunism. I cannot disagree. The spurious (and opportunistic?) championing of testability as a criterion of scientific and historical validity should be sufficiently discredited. As Miller and Tilley (1984b:151) have pointed out, raising prediction to the status of explanation does not work in the social sciences. With regard particularly to historical studies, they assert that interpretations cannot "be judged by whether or not they can be tested, or on the outcomes of such tests," and that "it is the establishment of detailed links between the disparate aspects of material culture patterning that lends strength and plausibility to the particular explanations."

I cannot in any way "prove," or for that matter even test, the proposition that some sort of renegotiation of the meaning of palisades played a role in changing the social, political and economic structure. My explanation is based on two simple notions: first, that people perceive actions and objects as having ideological or symbolic content, and secondly, that they sometimes misinterpret them. Several sequences of events can follow from this, depending upon the circumstances, one of which is that their wrong perception will make sense or serve some purpose within a changing social, economic or political context, and may in its turn come to be the object of manipulation, reinforcement, or further misunderstanding.

It cannot be denied that such things do happen, and that they undoubtedly also happened in the past. To rule them, a priori, out of consideration as explanations for past developments on the grounds that they are untestable is simply to admit what has been pretty evident all along: that the scientific method, in the sense of hypothesis formulation and testing, is an altogether inappropriate vehicle for investigating any but the simplest of past phenomena.

In fact, "testable" hypotheses are no less speculative than the interpretations I have presented here. They are simply designed to be amenable to a particular test for falsehood. If they pass the test, they are not therefore non-speculative, they just have not been exposed to the data that will eventually debunk them. It is almost inevitable that all of our current interpretations of the past will one day be considered wrong; to disqualify an interpretation because it cannot be shown to be wrong *now* seems a bit arbitrary.

There is a tendency on the part of some critics of this sort of approach to isolate the "search for meaning" as a discrete enterprise in archaeology, separate from some other kinds of archaeology. If this is valid, then I cannot imagine what those other kinds of archaeology could be. If it were not for

the meanings inherent in past actions, it is unlikely that any of us would be bothering to do archaeology; in fact it seems unlikely that any of us would be here to do archaeology.

The notion that explanations ought to be in some way "testable" or "provable" is simply a red herring. If it were an attribute of historical "truth" that it could be conclusively proved, then I would think differently, but our everyday experience tells us that it isn't.

In the final analysis, the value of our interpretations of the past is not so much in their historical "truth" as in their plausibility. They will ultimately be judged by the interest they generate, and the insight they provide into the human condition, past and present. In exploring, misunderstanding and transforming the meanings of past behaviour, we are acting in the best traditions of those whose past we study.

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NYAYO: CULTURAL CONTRADICTIONS IN KENYA RURAL CAPITALISM[1]

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Abstract: Post-independence Kenya has not followed the route of some African countries, breaking with the ideology of world capitalism. Indeed, Kenya's dominant ethos enshrines economic individualism and capital accumulation as central values. Yet *Nyayo* as a rallying call for development connotes the spirit of love, unity and peace, along with sharing, "the living and activating cement to the fundamental African socialism . . . that motivates all actions, including *Harambee* in action" (Daniel Arap Moi 1986:18). This paper explores the contradictions between the two discourses as they are played out in the lives of rural Kenyans who are attempting to adhere to state edicts that have little relevance to daily economic experience.

Résumé: Depuis son indépendance le Kenya n'a pas suivi le même chemin que certains autres pays africains ont pris: notamment le renoncement du capitalisme. En fait l'ethos dominant au Kenya enchasse en tant que valeurs centrales l'accumulation de capitaux et l'individualisme économique. Par contre *Nyayo*, le point de ralliment pour le développement, démontre un esprit d'amour, d'unité et de paix, et de partage, «the living and activating cement to the fundamental African socialism . . . that motivates all actions, including *Harambee* in action» (Daniel Arap Moi 1986:18). Cet article examine les contradictions entre ces deux discours tels que vécues par les habitants des régions rurales qui essayent d'adhérer aux demandes de l'état même si celles-ci ont très peu de rapport avec leurs expériences économiques quotidiennes.

> [T]here are three important factors in the Kenyan style of nation-building: the vehicle, the force and the philosophy. KANU[2] is the vehicle, *Nyayo* is the moving spirit or force, and *Nyayoism* is the philosophy.
>
> — Daniel arap Moi 1986:18[3]

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This paper, which is based on recent fieldwork,[4] describes the reactions of a group of rural Kenyan people to certain contradictory social pressures. They must attempt to follow state edicts directed toward nation building and economic development, although such commands have little application or relevance to the day-to-day realities of social life.

Post-independence Kenya has not followed the route of some African countries, which have broken with the ideology of world capitalism. Indeed, throughout the reign of the first President, Jomo Kenyatta, and during the rule of his successor, the current President, Daniel arap Moi, Kenya has remained a pronouncedly capitalistic regime, dedicated to making money. For ordinary Kenyans then, the experiential economic structure involves buying, selling and a hope of individual accumulation, the ingredients of capitalism.

However, the manipulation of the economic (and political) structure in Kenya by both of these presidents has been, at least in part, legitimized by discourse denoting a sharing ethos.[5] For Kenyatta, the new nation's rallying call was *harambee* (let us pull together).[6] *Nyayo*, Moi's slogan, means "footsteps" in Swahili. At first, it referred to the footsteps of Kenyatta.[7] Recently, the call has taken on additional meanings as defined by its creator. Broadly, it now refers to the footsteps of the ancestors of all Kenyans. Their descendants are called upon to engage in *maendeleo* (development) in building the nation. Before Moi's presidency, at any public gathering, be it fund raiser or football game, the rallying cry was *Harambee! Harambee! Harambee*! Today, Moi or his representatives are welcomed by a chorus of *Nyayo*! *Nyayo*! *Nyayo*! Kenya is immersed in the *Nyayo* era and Moi and his KANU party are the *Nyayo* administration.

Yet *Nyayo*, as the "moving spirit or force," has become more than a rallying call during Moi's presidency. It contains the ingredients of a philosophy (*Nyayoism*) and the principles for living, namely: love, unity, peace and sharing. Indeed, *Nyayo* (now spelled with an upper-case first letter), has become a Kenyan ideology, rooted in tradition, supposedly applicable to current times and, like all ideologies, perfect and defensible. Moreover, it is an ideology required by governmental edict and legitimized by Kenyan law. To be anti-*Nyayo* is to be anti-Kenya, a treasonable offense. *Nyayo*, as a prescription for daily life is described by its inventor as:

> [T]he vocal expression of an endemic and indigenous spirit in African culture. This is the spirit from which emanates deep familial and societal *love*; the spirit which nourishes and conserves the matrix of the invisible bonds of *unity* in the extended family, the sept, the clan, the tribe and the nation; the spirit upon which enduring *peace* is founded. . . . This spirit, of peace, love and unity is the living and activating cement to the fundamental African so-

> cialism of our heritage. It is the spirit (traditionally and in modern nation-building) which has motivated all joint actions, including *Harambee* in action. (Moi 1986:18)[8]

Thus, to legitimize themselves as Kenyans, people must engage in love, unity, peace and sharing with one another, from the smallest family unit to the larger nation. From such attitudes, economic development will ensue.

As one era replaces another, one culture hero displaces another in the legitimization of authority. While not completely excluding Kenyatta as the inventor of *Harambee*, Moi says we must,

> look back further to the incarnate source of his inspiration . . . more *fundamentally* we are also following in the footsteps of our forefathers who created and maintained the motive force, the spirit of African socialism. . . . For, across the length and breadth of this country, long before independence, people called out, "*Harambee*! *Eeh*!" before they pulled a cow out of a pit, put a roof on a granary. . . . The pervading spirit of *Nyayo* moves them. Peace, love and unity prepare the ground for joint action. That joint action is a universal theme, growing out of a universal African spirit—the spirit of the forefathers, their *Nyayo*! This is the rallying spirit upon which the Father of the nation (Kenyatta) relied when he called "*Harambee*!" The *Nyayo* of our heritage is the moving spirit. From it came *Harambee* activities. (1986:19)

Thus Moi and his *Nyayo* come before Kenyatta and his *Harambee*. Without Moi's discovery of *Nyayo*, as the "moving spirit or force," *Harambee* has no history.

Nyayo in economics finds its tradition in

> the communal role without inhibiting the productivity and creativity of the individual. . . . African economics reflected the essential principles of socialism, which demonstrated practical love and unity in an atmosphere of peace. . . . Today, the need for the recognition of those principles is even greater for a much more plural community which must forge lasting links and co-operate for the common good. (Moi 1986:9)

Co-operation may take place within the *Harambee* arena which,

> recapitulates African socialism and (incidentally) effects a voluntary redistribution of wealth, so that communal causes may be upheld. . . . We share the little we have, so that we can work together to produce more. (Moi 1986:29)

To sum up, *Nyayo*, the path to development and economic betterment enjoins Kenyans to follow the footsteps of the ancestors and evokes the love, unity and peace their societies contained. *Nyayo* permits an ethos of work-

ing together and sharing, without interfering with the "productivity and creativity" of the individual.

In the rest of this paper, we will examine the case of the Avalogoli as an example of the strategic moves people may take to overcome a dysphoria which has emerged from the contradiction between the capitalist economic structure of modern Kenya and *Nyayo*, a prescribed ideology denoting the spirit of African socialism, sharing and working together.

Close to 200 000[9] Avalogoli live in the heavily populated Western Province of Kenya in an area known as Maragoli.[10] The Logoli people are cattle-keeping agriculturalists who, for a long period of time, have relied heavily on inputs from the wage labour sector.[11] Historically and currently, Logoli people had and have a "right" way of seeing, believing and living their lives, the way it "ought" to be; therefore a Logoli ideology may be identified. Avalogoli ideology contains ingredients similar to the *Nyayo* ideology, and it is also as perfect and defensible. Traditionally, i.e., in "the time of the ancients, when people were naked" or "before God came" (prior to colonial and missionary intervention), their political structure involved a consensus which was expressed in a policy of "talking until you agree." The social structure was one of segmentary patrilineages, with levels of obligation consistent with such a social structure.

Adherence to the collectivity was not only evidenced politically, but also socially. An informant in her forties says, "You were trained in such a way that you had respect for anybody, living or dead. It didn't matter whether it's your father or whose father. Your mother's sister is your mother, your father's brothers were just like your father, all old people are the mothers and fathers and the young are their children, these are the laws" (F. Oct. 28, 1983).[12]

In the sphere of economics, the collectivity emerged in the time of their ancestor, Mulogoli, who immigrated to the area, designated some land as communal, for grazing or fuel, and gave other land to his sons. From that time land has been passed from fathers to sons in a family ownership. "Logoli fathers always give land to their sons. Even if it's a small one. And if your sons have sons, they will divide that piece of ground to [among] their sons" (Asava July 21, 1984). In turn, in order to get their land, sons must fulfil their obligations to their father. "Logoli sons are to know again their father. Whatever they get, they are to be friends to father. Whatever you get, well give to your father" (Muhavi July 21, 1984). Daughters too are said to be "important," providing bridewealth cattle and cash to facilitate the marriage of their brothers or to bring wealth to their fathers. Moreover, people say that girls "never forget" their parents, and "girls think of and care for parents in their old age." The cycle of giving and receiving also extends to food, i.e., millet for cassava, and to *silika*, working for one another in groups, building houses or digging land.

Generally speaking, all Avalogoli activity – being born and maturing, owning land and cattle, rejoicing in life and leaving it behind – is integrated with those who have come before, those who are now here, and those who are yet to come. Relationships within *tsinyumba* (houses) give members a sense of affiliation and continuity and are the basis of individual security. The bond created between the individual and the group provides the "good life," i.e., children, land and cattle, a common East African paradigm. Achieving the good life means living up to the requirements of "good" Logoli people, and that necessitates adherence to the power structure of the collectivity, the social and political realms, and to giving and receiving within the collectivity, that is, in the economic realm. However, the above, circular description of Avalogoli society mainly concerns life in the head and heart, that is to say, to the "oughts" which pertain to the idealized normative structure. For a better understanding of present-day life, let us consider the following data, collected mainly from Logoli women, and examine the strategies these data reveal.

The societal structure has, of course, undergone transformations, although rhetorically it remains remarkably intact. The control by male elders over many aspects of Avalogoli life is legitimized, as is social and economic adherence to the collectivity. This, at least, is the way it "ought" to be in order to follow the *vika* (steps) for the good life. The political structure is now state controlled, yet elders still wield influence.[13] Many juniors, female and male, do not push limits too far, no matter how much they may complain; it is not in their vested interest to do so. However, all adults are no longer parents to all children: "You may not interfere with the children of others, they will have the law on you," was a comment frequently heard in the field. In the economic realm, communal land has long disappeared, and fathers hold on to title deeds, excluding sons from ownership, or simply may not have the resources to buy land for them elsewhere. Fathers, sons and their families suffer from this. Daughters, who may have married into landless families, have difficulty providing for their own children let alone giving to parents. For the most part individuals, groups and *avafundi* (workmen) are paid for digging and building, so working for one another has become paid specialization. Also individual *maendeleo* (development) requires accumulation, an act which may not easily be reconciled with collectivism. "People have jealous eyes, they do not want to see progress in yards, they will even poison," or curse, or hire an *umulogi* (witch) to cast spells. All of this indicates transformation of traditional societal structure.

Some implemented strategies remain within the realm of (admittedly strained) traditions. Among Avalogoli, the capitalistic endeavour is dependent on the availability of cash which is, for the most part, found in wage labour, but cash has also partially supplanted the traditional system of reci-

procity, e.g., the exchange of millet for cassava. Those who cannot work in wage labour may obtain cash from other members of the collectivity. The cash economy engenders its own complaints: "These old people have no idea how much it costs the children to live, they continually harass for money, they have big pockets that never get filled." The demands are endless: money for school fees for younger siblings, money to buy land because there is not enough at home, money to build houses and to buy commodities. A constant stream of relatives, friends and children of friends expect some form of financial support from people who are barely eking out a living. Not giving means not receiving the support of the collectivity. This translates into not being regarded as "good" Avalogoli and, in the event of human difficulty, having nowhere to turn for assistance. The magnitude of difficulty involved in securing sufficient cash and land is largely the result of population pressure. Much of this difficulty devolves on women, who bear the children and most of the responsibility for feeding them.

As mentioned above, the agricultural area of Western Kenya is very highly populated. Maragoli has a fast-growing population with an extremely limited land resource. Ssennyonga says that fertility indices in Western Province generally appear to be above the national average, 54.2 as against 50 births per thousand (population), and his general observation is, "as one narrows the spatial angle towards Maragoli from the national plane, the higher the densities soar" (Ssennyonga 1978:5). He continues by saying that the real impact of the trends emerges only when one relates them to the resource base and human potential. "Many will doubt whether this rural people has been able to build up a life support system with the capacity to sustain its phenomenal population" (ibid.:14). In 1982, the population density of the Maragoli area ranged from 277 to 1065 people per square kilometre.[14] The village area I studied currently has close to 1200 people per square kilometre. Thus women, who are the farmers, have tremendous difficulty in providing subsistence for their very large families on very small plots of land, ranging from one-sixteenth to one acre. A substantial majority of "yards" (compounds) have less than half an acre of land.

Logoli people say 10 children are the ideal. Government advocacy of family planning has begun to cause people to question that ideal, as has a growing local awareness of the relationship between large families and economic stress. Land scarcity has made multi-generational families and polygyny impractical. The decline in polygyny may actually be causing a population increase, however, as some men expect to have as many children with one wife as their fathers did with several.

The staple food is *ovuchima*, a posho (cornmeal porridge) made from ground maize flour, ideally accompanied by green (cowpea) vegetables cooked with onion and tomato, or by chicken or beef. Cooked bananas may

be substituted for *ovuchima*. However, not eating *ovuchima* constitutes not eating at all.[15] Other crops, such as vegetables, cassava, sorghum, millet and beans, are grown as space permits.

Because land is in short supply, subsistence crops are quickly exhausted by eating or perhaps by selling if other needs arise. Moreover, nowadays people require other items to subsist, and thus there is a heavy reliance on the market. Women, who are directly responsible for putting the food in people's stomachs and all that entails, need tea (a normative necessity introduced by the British), sugar and milk to go with it,[16] salt, tomatoes, onions, cabbages, green (cowpea) vegetables, cooking oil, maize flour and, if at all possible, fish, chicken or beef to accompany them.[17] Along with these, they need utensils, soap, kerosene, matches and firewood or charcoal to get the food ready.

Other commodities, supplied by both women and men, are also required. In the category of necessary items are water containers, clothing, shoes, blankets, utensils, seeds, fertilizer, batteries and newspapers. Highly desired items include supplies for repairing and building, furniture, lamps, animals and, above all, land. Some pay rent for pieces of land; all must pay school fees, buy uniforms and such supplies as exercise books, reading books, desks, pens and pencils. Everyone must contribute to the never ending requests for school *harambee* and "building" funds.[18] Furthermore, transportation, medical treatment from customary sources,[19] ceremonies, feasts, births and deaths all cost money. Access to cash, and therefore the needed and wanted goods, is an absolute and never ending requirement. The Logoli people say, "We have forgotten how to make salt," signifying that subsistence no longer comes from non-market commodities.

New consumption styles were gradually instilled in Logoli people as a result of their encounter with the commodity market, imported household goods, European style clothing, tea, sugar, soap and salt, etc. But the people of this village call themselves *avadaka*, poor people. They have limited access to cash and, although food and some commodities are bought in bulk by shopkeepers and broken down into tiny units for sale, it is very difficult to obtain the shillings required daily to buy them. Even if people could accumulate the larger amount of shillings required to buy in bulk, it would not be good management because, in the constant cycle of giving and receiving, they would be required to share it with others in the collectivity. Hiding places are limited in thatched-roofed, mud huts that contain few pieces of furniture. Cash is easier to conceal (see below).

Village people hear and want to heed the clarion of Moi's *Nyayo*, telling them they must engage in *Maendeleo* (development), which for them is better translated as "progress." Progress for these people means cash, and, although in the first instance it's cash to buy food so their "children may

sleep without crying,'' it is also cash to buy land so they may better feed their families and engage in cash cropping; cash to build a semi-permanent house and fill it with furniture, i.e., beds, chairs, tables; and cash for clothing, school fees, school requirements and market commodities. These are the elements contained in progress, and having cash is the only way to progress. There are examples to emulate: some people have these things; some even have cars. One person, at a market where electricity is available, even has a television. However, most people live on a day-to-day basis, hoping to borrow, or be given, cash from the few members of the collectivity who have access to it, and who will assist them in obtaining ''just a little tea,'' ''a bit of sugar,'' ''flour for the evening meal, we are starving'' or ''school fees for 'your' children.''

Cash enters the village from a limited number of sources. These include paid labour, petty trading and remittances from relatives. Of 70 male respondents in the village, 32 have full-time, 4 have part-time jobs. However, men usually provide a limited amount of cash, and mostly it is applied to larger expenditures, for example, school fees. Additionally, most men work outside Maragoli and, by the time they pay their own living expenses, have little left to contribute to the home.[20] Some even ''forget the home.''

Fewer women work, and generally their only source of employment is digging for others. Out of 70 women respondents, 7 engaged in full-time digging for others, at 10 shillings a day and 12 dug on a part-time basis. Digging for others is an insecure occupation. Plots are small, so workers are not always needed. The work is seasonal. There may be unexpected interruptions such as sickness and funerals and, even if one does work, one may not get paid. Three women were teachers in *Harambee* schools, one did part-time sewing, one made and sold *chang'aa* (a local brew), and one was a prostitute. Wages are uncertain in all cases.

Even fewer women engage in petty trading than participate in casual agricultural labour, selling commodities purchased from the larger market with a fifty-cent or so mark-up. Eight women sold small amounts of cash crops, sweet and cooking bananas, cabbages, tomatoes, onions and green vegetables. However, such trading is also seasonal and really only provides 10 shillings here and 10 there.

Nevertheless, even though they may not be able to ''progress'' as they would want to, some of these women have strategies that enable them to survive and access cash for some of their needs and wants. The collectivity renders crucial assistance. Forty-three out of 70 women[21] were supplied with cash by others; some fairly regularly, some less so. The amounts ranged from 10 to 500 shillings, the smaller sums being more frequent. Cash came from husbands (who remembered the home), older children, real and classificatory parents and siblings, in-laws and neighbours. These same

categories of people may also donate and loan commodities, for example, food, soap, clothing, utensils, bedding, firewood, chickens, eggs and animals.

How do women manage to get this support? If they remain members in good standing of the collectivity, they are supported by the norms of exchange. It is said that Logoli people abhor the beggars who wander the market saying "*Saidia*," with their hands outstretched. Instead, their normative structure provides the means to draw upon the collectivity. They ask, *kotewa*, or say "*ngonya*," "help me." This is done in the context of reciprocity. It draws on reminders of previous assistance, e.g., "I prayed for you"; "I led the dancing group when you were holding *harambee*"; "I gave you advice." The act of begging implies no wider social ties; one begs, one gives; the interaction begins and ends in that framework. With *kotewa* or *ngonya*, there is always a reciprocal relationship, an interdependence. If a woman requires assistance to pay school fees for a child, it would be unfair and inappropriate to say that she went begging. There is usually a sealant among Avalogoli; if one is not there the request is quickly dismissed. People complain of the demands (as noted above) but they do not "kill" the one asking, that is, they do not dismiss the demands without a thought. They may not give, but they are polite and attentive in their refusal.[22] For example, Sarah says,

> It is the same as you people call banking. When I face problems I will send one of my children to the one I have given to and they will give to that child. It takes away my pain [uncertainty]. We help each other like that, we give according to our heart and what we can, forever we have done that, we are forever exchanging. (Dec. 12, 1987)

In most cases those who ask and are asked are from *umuliango gwitu*, meaning "from our door," symbolically our *inyumba*, our "house."

However, it should not be assumed from this discussion that intrahousehold and intra*inyumba* conflict does not occur within reciprocal relations. Arguments take place between husbands and wives, children, parents and siblings. In actuality, most relatives and affines debate who should provide resources and how the resources should be distributed. Wives complain that husbands do not share with them resources which they receive from relatives and affines. For example, wives believe that a portion of *uvukwi* (bridewealth) for their daughters should be given to them, saying, "Who gave birth to this child, did he?"[23] Husbands complain that women's provision of food to relatives and affines leaves the yard without food.[24] Both complain that children do not provide them with support, or argue about how much each should receive if the support is given, accusing one another of hiding the "real" amount provided. At such times, children accuse par-

ents of having "big pockets." In turn, parents hold up as examples other parents in slightly better economic circumstances; children's support has allowed these parents to progress. Daughters-in-law threaten to "walk" unless a part of their *uvukwi* is sent to their parents; their parents are "pushing" them for that. Men argue with their wives in this regard, but also "push" their fathers to assist in the provision. Siblings split apart over parental decisions in reference to provisioning or, in other contexts, band together against the parents. In today's economic circumstances everyone complains that they get too little and cannot give enough. Nonetheless, for the most part, intrahousehold exchange networks remain constant among kin, affines, even friends, as they follow *vika* (steps) appropriate to the "Logoli way." Women are very dependent on the resources mentioned above via reciprocal relations. Food gifts are exchanged on a daily basis as women visit one another with covered baskets containing the gifts they give and in turn receive. Baskets may never be returned to the giver empty.

Some, of course, do not help. These people are called *avamani* (mean). These are the people who dismiss requests without a thought, who are selfish, who do not give when they ought to. They are described as low, uncaring individuals. Young children are criticized for not sharing; those adults who can share and don't have lesser minds than children. It becomes difficult to live in a social group when one becomes known as one "who does not share," or identified by the phrase, "there will be no help coming from that one." Such people are isolated. People say that even those who are *avamani* will help some, not everyone they should, but at least someone. After all, "this is rooted in the past." Yet many acknowledge that in the past it was easier to help. Now that the elusive cash has entered the picture, sharing becomes increasingly difficult. Reciprocity works both ways. Those who are unable to assist tend to receive scant assistance and they have a derogatory self-image rather than a more sustaining one. They say, "It's just like that," or "It's God's will," as they live in extreme poverty and neglect.

The strategy involved in accessing the collectivity takes effort; members do not appear in needy yards with a donation. Those who require assistance must travel the network, walking, or perhaps scraping up the shillings required for transport. Women are likely to be carrying babies on their backs and perhaps bananas on their heads. One does not visit with empty hands. They call on the yards where they hope to get support, waiting, sometimes for most of the day, and then return home, hopefully with the needed cash or commodity. They will always be given tea, often something to eat, perhaps even food to take home but, because many people are in the same economic position as themselves, they will not always have their request ful-

filled. If the need is dire, and it most often is, they will have to do the same the following day, trekking to a different yard.

Also, as people are now dealing in cash, it becomes more difficult to ascertain who is really unable to assist. It is easy to establish who has a full granary if the request is for maize; it is not as easy to detect an availability of cash. Cash is easily hidden; even in a collectivity secrets exist. It may be difficult to disprove the assertion, "I have no money." Suspicion often arises between husbands and wives. There is an assumption among Maragoli people that women "always" have cash, somewhere, somehow. There are "known" places where women hide money, within their clothing or in their headscarves. Some husbands ask, demand, search and beat for the money they are sure wives have hidden away. Should they find some, rather than acknowledging the cleverness of women's strategies for having it, i.e., the sustaining benefits, they rather imagine the deceit or the untrustworthiness contained in its possession. Certainly, considering the strategic manoeuvres women go through to get cash, their statement in this context, that "life is not fair," is understandable.

Life is not fair, either to those who have or to those who have not. For those who have, the demands of others, under the guise of traditionalism and *Nyayo*, become onerous, and strategies of avoidance become as difficult as earning the cash in the first place. Amy agrees with Moi, "The traditional ways were better, then we had trust. If someone knew certain things they shared [the information], now we pay [for specialization]. Now, people flock aimlessly, back and forth to the market" (Nov. 23, 1987). According to Ritah, "They only sit, they do not know where they are coming from or where they are going" (Nov. 7, 1987). Jane says, "Today the world is difficult, things are more expensive, life is hard for women. When I was growing up, 10 shillings would buy so much, a dress even. Today, with so many children, 100 shillings will buy one a dress, one a shirt" (Dec. 11, 1987). For Asbetta, however, "A long time ago the world was black, nowadays it is white" (Dec. 28, 1987). She is asserting that before there was no progress, now there is. Atypically, Asbetta's husband has a job in wage labour, and he "remembers his home." Linas, with six young children and a husband "somewhere" in Nairobi, says, "When people have money, they can have a good life, not to depend on others" (Dec. 28, 1987). Despite the challenges she faces, Linas has managed well; currently she has three children in primary school and twins in nursery school.

For those people who must utilize strategies, and access the collectivity, the ingredients contained in Moi's *Nyayo* are necessary, rooted as they are in the footsteps of their own ancestors and in their current life. They simply cannot do without them. Thus *Nyayo* has become a significant part of local discourse and practice. The political sphere for all Logoli people encom-

passes government officials and their actions on a national level, i.e., the President, Ministers and Members of Parliament, and on the local level includes the particular Member of Parliament for the area, the District Officer, Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs with their *mugutu* (headmen), Kenyan police (including the Criminal Investigation Department, CID) and members of the local council. Until February, 1989 when he died, the elected M.P. for the area was known as a "right hand of the President." Thus progress in the area, most particularly regarding roads and market renovations, is credited to his connection to the President and his attention to reciprocal relations. Although the people speak of many elected officials as having a great deal of money (evidenced by their private businesses and large farms) which must have come from the people, the President is seen as benevolent. He is the person who on occasion steps in (usually after visiting an area), slaps the hands of the local politicians and says we must do more for the people, i.e., provide them with government services, assist them to educate their children, lower the price of maize or beef, build roads, get water, engage in reforestation and so on. His "clean up" statements are given national newspaper coverage. On subsequent days, the newspapers report that local politicians agree with him. The latter defend their records, and offer solutions to the problems in question. These "clean up" statements are discussed locally. For example, Logoli people say, "The President has said," going on to give their interpretation, and so his words circulate. Thus many people separate their President from corruption; seldom is he held directly responsible for any difficulty or hardship. In fact he is often seen as their only rescue, as through *Nyayo* he advocates love, peace, unity and sharing within the traditional normative structures.[25]

Most women hear government statements at church and discuss how their lives may be influenced by them. For example, Finasi says, "Now Moi, with the government of Kenya, the way it is today, Moi definitely specifies with his government that they, women and men, ought to work together for progress" (Oct. 20, 1987). According to Edelia, "Before women were seen as weaklings, controlled, but government emphasis is on women and *Maendeleo* [progress], the women have become productive. The President has announced the young should help their parents, some do—some do not" (Dec. 20, 1987).[26] However, another, very old, lady disagrees with Edelia about women's former weakness and submissiveness. At an early morning Assistant Chief's barazza, she said,[27]

> Women have forgotten their place [authority], and so have men [forgotten women's authority]. When the ancients went to war it was the men who went first, but it was the women who dragged the rocks [ammunition]. Without the rocks the men could not fight the war. Politics is the same as war in

> ancient times, it decides who owns the land and who leads the people. (Anonymous, Feb. 17, 1988)

Most women, along with most men, agree that the government provides little in the way of assistance for them to follow the edicts of *Nyayo* or the canons of traditional norms. In fact, the collectivity is resisting its members' demands; more and more people are hard pressed to supply a nuclear family's needs, let alone extend themselves to the collectivity. More and more people are labelled mean, perhaps not through choice but from the economic situation in which they find themselves. Missing from Moi's *Nyayo* are the strategies for achieving economic sufficiency, the tangible means to access cash, a wage-paying job.

Harambee also is beginning to take on evil connotations. For example, in an attempt to supply schools, laboratories and equipped workshops in order to fulfil government requirements for the recently adopted 8-4-4 system of education, Maragolians met and decided on a large *harambee*. A levy of 200 shillings was imposed on every Maragolian wage-earner or home-owner. "This was passed by saying a person cannot contribute according to his liking but we must use power to get the money" (an official March 25, 1988). If the money was not forthcoming, items from yards were confiscated, for example, chickens or livestock. If the owner did not appear with the cash, the confiscated item was sold and the sale was witnessed by officials. If it brought more than 200 shillings, the remainder was returned to the owner. If it brought less, something else was taken and sold to make up the difference. Imagine the scenario in which local officials were chasing chickens around the yards to make up a "donation."

Thus, for many it is the government actions which exacerbate the need for cash. Many people see the government as making change,[28] and most label change as bad.[29] Most Logoli people have a poor opinion of the role of government and its employees in the raising of prices. For those few who see change as good, "good" is contextual, based on having cash. "Life for women becomes more and more difficult. Before, there was food, big land, now, I am experiencing no land and starvation" (Jacinta Dec. 28, 1987). "Who is to give me work, there is no work, Moi says, 'You sweat, then you get', but what can I sweat over, there is no progress without money and no money without work" (Robai Nov. 20, 1987). People's lives are beginning to go round and round from a constant cycle of demands and expectations, rather than moving "from darkness to light" as one woman translates Moi's words. Others' lives simply stagnate.

It is questionable how much longer Avalogoli culture, dedicated, at least rhetorically, to a collectivity, will be able to resist the complete domination of a capitalist ethos of individual accumulation. Adherence to a collectivity

appears to impede the "productivity and creativity of the individual" that is contained in *Nyayo*; the burden simply becomes too arduous for the individual to bear. Yet *Nyayo*, with all its seeds from the past, shows no signs of weakening. People do criticize its idealism or note the contradiction embodied in trying to follow a middle path between capitalism and socialism. They do not lose faith in *Nyayo* when they fail to experience the "progress" that would be contained in the self-reliance implicit in land ownership, and the possession of semi-permanent houses, furniture, etc. Socialism may be largely rhetorical in an economic sense but not as a strategy for the people. Not to abide by it is more than anti-*Nyayo*, thus anti-Kenyan, anti-government . . . it is anti-Avalogoli. *Nyayo* is given hegemonic status by its potential to subsume all possible internal contradictions.[30] It is an ideological discourse which ignores the actual performance of the regime, particularly on this local level. People are aware that a few tarmac roads, a rural health clinic and market electricity are counterbalanced by hunger and limited access to needed and wanted commodities. Finasi sums up the situation, "What will market electricity do for me, I need food, water and firewood" (Oct. 28, 1987). However, neither *Nyayo* nor Moi are blamed for current conditions. The very discourse of *Nyayo* can be used to blame perceived shortcomings on vaguely specified others who do not live up to *Nyayo*'s demands.

In Kenya it has been in the arena of politics and ideological discourse, centred on the struggle to exercise state power, that the fate of local economics has been decided. Many observers would agree that this rural economy is faltering, if not failing altogether, even though strategies prevail for some of the people, allowing them to hold on, however tenuously. The dual imperatives of *Nyayo*, perceived as consistent with traditional Avalogoli life, on the one hand, and capitalism, on the other hand, continue to dominate political discourse. One watches with interest to see if they will continue to do so.

Notes

1. Fieldwork was conducted during 1987 and 1988. Funding for this fieldwork was provided by SSHRC, IDRC and the Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto. Permission to engage in research was provided by the Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, and the Office of the President, Kenya, East Africa. Affiliation was provided by the University of Nairobi and the Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi. Earlier versions of this paper were presented prior to publication: University of Western Ontario, London, Canada, April, 1989; CESCE, 16th Annual Congress, Ottawa, Canada, May, 1989. I thank those who offered valuable suggestions in both presentation spheres, this journal's reviewers and Harriet Lyons, editor, who provided helpful and constructive critiques.

2. The Kenya African National Union is the political party in Kenya. Except for a brief period, 1966-69, Kenya has followed a one-party political system.
3. Daniel T. arap Moi is the President of the Republic of Kenya, East Africa.
4. Methods from which these data are drawn consisted of, first, participant observation stemming from residence in a Maragoli village. My presence in the village was legitimized by my status as a researcher in anthropology and by a kinship tie; I am married to (an) Umulogoli. Secondly, open-ended, in-depth interviewing of 410 women along with members of their families took place during 1987 and 1988 fieldwork. The "n=" utilized in this paper signifies the number of cases (Loether and McTavish 1980:47), that is, the number of people who responded, in order to provide the contextual detail stated.
5. This idea of sharing ethos may be designated as a form of African socialism in Kenya. Some have labelled African socialism as a "first official wave of ideological construction [occurring] immediately after independence" (Chazan et al. 1988:150), that took place to "provide theoretical legitimation for the incoming regimes and their leaders" (Chazan et al. 1988:149). In other words, whereas a number of independent African states advocated some aspect of socialism, for some, it was a strategy of nationalism. Although the concept of African socialism was and is utilized in Kenya (in the 1960s, Jomo Kenyatta labelled himself a socialist [Chazan et al. 1988:178]), in actuality, socialism is mainly rhetorical ideology that assisted in the anti-colonial struggle (cf. Rosberg and Callaghy 1979; Friedland and Rosberg 1964) and currently assists in nation building in the form of political ideology (Moi 1986:18), and economic strategy (ibid.:9, 29), see below. For example, Liebenow (1986:174) says of Kenya, "The state paper on socialism . . . sounded remarkably like capitalism under a new label."
6. A Swahili word, usually said to mean "working together."
7. For example, see Katz (1985) for the development and necessity of this discourse.
8. It is interesting that Moi portrays traditional Africans and Africa as utopians and utopia. Most ethnographic investigation, from oral histories, discerns class conflict and power struggles within and between ethnic groups in Africa. Logoli people certainly went to war, wars were fought for land and cattle with the Luo and the Nandi. Within the Avalogoli group, power and land confrontations between clans took place. Within clans, friction between elders and juniors often contributed (and contribute) to conflict, even death (cf. Abwunza 1985).
9. Published statistics (Republic of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, Oct. 2, 1982) show the Maragoli population as 142 205, however the census taken in 1987 gives 197 324 as the population count (personal communication, District Commissioner's Office, Kakemega).
10. The Avalogoli are not unknown in research. Wagner (1949) did an incomplete and often inaccurate ethnography in the 1920s, including the Avalogoli as one of the Western Kenya Bantu groups he investigated. In his opinion the Logoli people were manifesting a rise in individualism (what we might today designate as a decline in the collectivity), based on the growing capitalist economy. As a particular example, he mentions the change in the land tenure system to individual ownership by title deed. I take issue with his sweeping generalization in Abwunza (1985), and here, as is evidenced in a still strong notion of the collectivity over 60 years later. Barker (1950), Ogot (1967), Osogo (1965) and Were (1967a;1967b), all mention the Avalogoli in the context of the historical aspects of migration and settlement, along with the customs, of Western Kenya Abaluyha groups. Lonsdale (1970), includes Avalogoli in his study of the Western Kenya political associations. Ssennyonga (1978) speaks of demographic aspects, see below. Unpublished information on Avalogoli includes research conducted by Ligale (1966), Mmbulika (1971), Moock (1973) and Moock (1975), and Obayo

(1980). Moock's (1975) study centring on migration processes as they are connected to economic behaviour concludes that the Avalogoli investment in social ties in the rural area (what is called here an adherence to the collectivity), is an "insurance policy" against unemployment in the wage labour sector. I would agree their adherence to the normative structure of the collectivity provides "insurance" in the form of security; however this pervades all aspects of life, not only wage labour contexts. Moreover, this security demands obligation, as is shown here.

11. In the pattern typical of British colonies, labour migration became necessary in order to pay tax, compensate for famine years and fulfil European settlers' demands for labour. Because of a relatively high level of education, Avalogoli, especially Logoli men, probably enjoyed an advantage over other western Kenyans in seeking waged employment.
12. Most people who informed this study asked that their real names be used in any resulting publications. However, politics in Kenya is an area of sensitivity, and I consider it unwise to identify those who candidly offered their opinions in this context. I have attempted to resolve this ethical problem by referring to people by what is considered their English, rather than their Avalogoli names. They will, thus, be able to recognize themselves in my text but will not be easily identifiable to others.
13. For example, Chief's and Assistant Chief's meetings are in barazza form and frequently *inyumba* (house) meetings are held by elders, attempting to solve family or neighbourhood problems. These meetings are presided over by an Assistant Chief who acts as chairman and the representative of the government. Gathering in groups without a government representative is an illegal assembly.
14. Republic of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1982.
15. On one occasion we fed a young man a very large plateful of meat, rice and vegetables. Upon leaving our house he went to the kitchen hut and complained he had not eaten. We had not given him *ovuchima*.
16. Cows are scarce; there is no land to graze them.
17. Protein sources for the most part require cash, i.e., buying chickens, legumes, fish or beef. Beans are grown but only eaten in season. Where n=70, 13 yards had meat once a week; 3, every two weeks; 4, every three weeks; and 22 were able to purchase meat once a month. The remaining 28 seldom were able to purchase meat. However, eating meat means that usually one-half a kilo must stretch to all members of the yard, which averages eight people. Children are not usually given meat, however they may be given some of the soup (broth) to soak up with their *ovuchima*.
18. Where n=70, 55 have a total of 230 children of their own to pay school fees for, ranging in numbers from one to nine. Primary school education in Kenya is "free." However, free is rhetorical. For example, there is always a "building" fund; costs per term range from 200 to 300 shillings in rural areas to 750 shillings in Nairobi. Also, parents must pay for desks, supplies ("books for writing in, books for studying from, pens"), uniforms, watchmen fees, and so on. The procedure is to request from the child, and if the parents do not provide the cash, the child is sent home to remain there until it is supplied. Moreover, in the *Harambee* schools (more schools are *Harambee* than government-run or government-assisted), if parents do not pay, teachers do not get paid. All nursery schools are *Harambee*, one nursery school teacher reported she is fortunate to receive 100 shillings a month as parents seldom pay. Nursery schools are becoming compulsory; people say that if the children do not attend nursery, it is very difficult to get them enrolled in primary school. This will bring about even more expense. "Free" primary education is compulsory, parents *must* find the money to pay. Many women said they preferred the old system of fees, they would then know what the fee amounted to and could plan for the expenditure. "This way, you never know, the chil-

dren are always being sent home, back, home again. They miss too much." Teachers agree that children miss far too much school, and that far too much time is spent sending them home for money. Teachers would prefer to teach, rather than be involved in collecting fees. However, if they don't involve themselves, they will not get paid.

19. Westernized health care is free except in private hospitals and clinics. The Maragoli area has a rural health clinic. If available, medicines are given free at the health clinic. However, customary or "bush medical" treatment as it is called, is very expensive. A trip to a healer, herbalist or magician may cost 50 to 400 shillings plus medicine. Currently all private clinics must be licensed and health care abilities are closely assessed. Most "bush doctors" practise illegally.
20. Of the 32 men working full-time only four work in Maragoli. Maintaining living accommodation elsewhere is expensive. For example, a budget kept by a man working in Nairobi gives the following as shilling expenditures for one month: rent, 500; area watchman, 50; transport and food, 1020; laundry, 38; donations (funeral), 90; medical, 769 (an unusual expense, as one is not sick every month, yet interesting, as obtaining medical care in Nairobi is seldom free); repayment of debt, 200 (borrowed the previous month); transportation to Maragoli 250; for a total of 2917 shillings. His monthly salary is 2100 shillings, he was not able to take money home and he remained 817 shillings in debt. Even without the medical treatment he would not have been able to contribute to the home in Maragoli. Men also engage in strategies; for example, many do not come home on a regular monthly basis in order to save on transport, and attempt to accumulate cash to provide home assistance three or four times a year. This is a precarious situation, however, as they may end up spending it on relatives, emergencies or women and alcohol. The strategy used by the man above was to draw upon wage labour and the collectivity. He received a 650-shilling salary advance, borrowed 200 from a friend (to be repaid the next month), his sister (cousin) gave him 100 and his mother-in-law gave him 250 to cover his transportation cost to Maragoli so that he could attend to a family responsibility at home.
21. Monthly budgets filled out by the women at my request were utilized to provide the preceding and the following information.
22. Some characterize Logoli people as "people with the gimmies." George Abwunza, a Logoli, provided this analysis of the differences that exist between begging and asking in an attempt to counter the "gimmie" label.
23. This may be seen as a constant complaint of women.
24. Another constant complaint, in this case made by men.
25. The difficulty lies in getting the President's attention directed to the plights of the people, so his visits to any area, including Maragoli, are welcomed with joy as they may provide such opportunities.
26. Edelia's statement is debatable as far as Kenya is concerned, although she is correct in her assessment of an emphasis on women and "development," which for her, means "progress." Normative structures and Kenyan law often support men at the expense of women. In November 1987, a video conference made up of Kenyan and U.S. participants was held in Nairobi in order to determine, two years after the United Nations World Conference on women, if women's lot had improved. One of their findings stated, "Women are totally invisible in policy making." This statement has merit in Kenya. On a national level, since independence Parliament has had a maximum of three women Members of Parliament at any one time. In 1988, at least 10 women vied for the 188 seats, 360 candidates overall; all but four were casualties of the nomination process. Of these four, one was nominated and one elected for a total of only two women Members in the current Parliament. In the Maragoli area, during the 1988 national election, one woman ran unsuccessfully for (council) office.

When men and women were asked how they felt about women political candidates, invariably their first response was laughter. It was an amusing thought! After the initial reaction, some people said "It's good for women to run." A number of women said, "Women know women's needs." A few men believed women engaging in politics to be appropriate, "It's just alright, times are changing," was the comment from one man. However, any comments received could be suspect as all knew the research interest was mainly in women. A pictorial presentation (*The Weekly Review*, March 11, 1988) speaks to a general attitude toward women engaging in political activity. It shows (in an undetermined location) women voters laughing, standing and waving, with the caption, "Prospective voters seem to have enjoyed the rare public drama to which they have been treated." The companion picture portrays a number of solemn, pensive, sitting men, captioned, "while some – though noticeably not the candidates – think it's still a serious business after all." "Laughter" (equating women) and "serious" (equating men) are the key words.

27. This "Mummy" refused to allow me to "take her name to Canada."
28. Where n=64, 32 women believed that it is the government that makes changes in their society. The question was not answered by two; sixteen believed that people generally make change; five did not know; two answered that it is the church; two answered "men"; four replied "the government and the people"; and one woman believed that it is the government and the church.
29. Change is seen as bad by 36 out of 64 people. Change can be both good and bad, that it is good if you have cash, otherwise bad, by 17; five see change as good; four did not answer; and two did not know.
30. I should like to contradict those who write that the Kenyan government does not "use *Kanu* as a vehicle to shape ideology and formulate policy" (Okuma and Holmquist 1984); who refer to Kenya as a "no party state" (ibid.:61); and use these citations as argument support (Bradshaw 1990:24). We also disagree with Fatton's point that African states generally have non-hegemonic character as the "ruling class expresses its class power through its unmediated control of state power. Such a fusion of state and class powers reflects its nonhegemonic character" (Fatton 1989:63). In Kenya, unmediated control of state power assists in legitimizing the national hegemony of *Nyayo*.

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DESPERATELY SEEKING STRUCTURES; OR, THE FUTILITY OF FORM WITHOUT CONTENT

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Abstract: A recent discussion of Kwoma asymmetric affinal exchanges (especially those concluding funerals) argues that their importance is such that affinal alliances are created solely in order to bring about such exchanges, a position that evidence from the Daribi and the Chimbu (where asymmetric affinal exchange is also the rule) seems to support; and that only in terms of such concepts as "asymmetry" and "affine" can these customs be explained. The present paper argues to the contrary that these exchanges are more usefully seen as a local expression of social relations—specifically, that affinity is less important than siblingship in the cases considered; and that abstract terms, stripped of their local reference, are without explanatory power.

Résumé: Une discussion récente concernant les échanges asymétriques chez les Kwomas entre partenaires possédant des relations d'affinités (surtout ceux qui concluent les enterrements) prétend que leur importance est telle que des alliances d'affinité sont créées purement pour évoquer de tels échanges—une position qui semble être soutenue par les recherches effectuées chez les Daribis et les Chimbus qui, eux aussi, entreprennent des échanges asymétriques entre partenaires possédant des relations d'affinité. Ce n'est qu'avec l'aide de concepts tels que «asymétrie» et «affinité» que l'on peut expliquer ces coutumes. Cette étude prétend, au contraire, que ces échanges devraient être considérés comme l'expression locale des relations sociales—spécifiquement que dans les cas considérés, l'affinité porte moins d'importance que les relations familiales biologiques; et que des termes abstraits démunis de leur référence locale, manquent de pouvoir explicatif.

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Introduction

Like the "descent theory" that preceded it, the theory of "prescriptive marriage alliance" that developed from Lévi-Strauss's concept of elementary structures implied a totalizing view of society. The analysis of unilineal descent groups, although it stressed the corporate property-holding unit, had incorporated as well the claims and ties of individuals in other units through the notion of complementary filiation, the category of parent-child relation that co-exists with that of descent. Alliance theory shifted the emphasis from the *holding* of property to the exchange of wealth, and from the building of corporate collectives out of individual marriages and relational bonds to the collective or formal provision for marital alliance encoded in kin practice and terminology. But it entailed the social unit or segment, although with a different emphasis, just as surely as descent theory made provision for what Radcliffe-Brown had called "relations of consociation or alliance."

Though it became evident very early that there are serious problems with both approaches in application if not in theory (Schneider 1965), the modelling of subsequent accounts of social structure upon these exemplars carried with it an expectation of societal consistency. The mutual implication of exchange or reciprocity and relationship would seem to be intrinsic to the matter, particularly in its indigenous conceptualization, though the strict definition of descent units or the ability to develop sound conclusions out of the charting of marriage possibilities might be open to serious ethnographic doubts. Pursued independently as major indicators of the "structural" nature of the society or of the effectiveness of one's theoretical orientation, these are likely to prove deceptive.

This is nowhere more evident than in the case of affinity, the creation of social ties or relationships through the conventions and transactions of marriage alone. As the mere artifact of exchange, with no consideration of the other dimensions of its indigenous conceptualization, affinity transforms categories of relationship and their entailed obligations into microvariations of a fairly simplistic theoretical assumption. Affinity entails and is entailed in considerations other than exchange, and these of course differ from one society to another. To ignore these differences is scarcely exemplary science or even acceptable scholarship.

In a recent paper concerning Kwoma death payments (1988), Ross Bowden draws upon the sense of affinity promoted as a mechanism of "alliance" by proponents of the alliance theory. The body of Bowden's argument consists of a description of what he calls an asymmetrical exchange alliance between Kwoma clans, developed along the lines of kin relationship terminology and stated exchange obligations. The rationale for this

description is that affinity provides a setting for asymmetrical transactions whose social enactment amounts to a positive achievement sufficient to the needs of intergroup alliance—compelling socialization, so to speak, by compelling people to act. There is an additional unstated assumption, by no means uncommon among students of Melanesian societies, that "women" and items of exchange may be treated as self-evidently valuable, over and above the local conceptualization of them. References to the "aggressively egalitarian" nature of Kwoma society (Bowden 1988:272), and to the war-chil-tree imagery of lineal nurturance ("feeding its offshoots with sap (*pi*, blood)" ibid.:279) as denoting primarily *affinal prestations*, bespeak an assumption that reciprocity in and of itself constitutes the most important fact of sociality for Kwoma. Bowden extends his argument by implying that two highland societies, those of the Chimbu (ibid.:284) and the Daribi (ibid.:285), might be understood to have "structures" of affinal alliance identical to the Kwoma.

There is little reason to regard these as anything more than gratuitous exemplifications, or indeed to speak of "structure" in any but a perfunctory sense, however. If lineally held and transmitted obligations stemming from a marriage are to be singled out for attention as a structure, virtually the same format could probably be adduced, with only minor variations, for most Melanesian peoples. Generalizing on the basis of similarities in diagrammatic presentation and assumed homologies in usage, Bowden suggests a widespread "but largely neglected" (Bowden 1988:288) structure underlying many lowland and highland societies of Papua New Guinea. Though it is not altogether clear what "structure" might mean in this case, and Bowden's use of evidential material raises serious problems, the term "alliance" here would seem at least ill advised.

Moreover, as Bowden uses it, "alliance" explicitly disavows the traditional sense in which it was introduced by "alliance theorists," beginning with Dumont and Lévi-Strauss, in reference to continuing intermarriage between units (Bowden 1988:272). If this sense of intermarriage is *not* intended, then, it might legitimately be asked what explanatory advantages arise from an application of the term to series of payments initiated by a single marriage. Most human conjugal unions entail series of reciprocal obligations, often enough cross-generational, whether or not we wish to call them "structures." What is explained by dignifying a single marriage as an "alliance" that the word "marriage" does not convey less pretentiously?

If, on the other hand, Bowden intends "alliance" as a diacritical usage, emphasizing "an asymmetrical exchange relationship and wider political alliance" (Bowden 1988:273), resulting from every marriage, then what needs to be explained is not the political advantageousness of marriage (it is, in any case simply assumed), but just why, exactly, a marriage needs to

take the form it does to fulfill this "function." A mere listing of "kinds" of exchanges and the persons involved, with brief glosses as to intent, such as comprises the bulk of Bowden's account (1988:273-282), avoids this issue completely in its implication of the self-evidently "political" nature of all exchanges. In fact, then, Bowden's diacritical construction of "alliance" depends for its explanatory force on the *lack* of a well-defined and coherently presented sense of the indigenous significance of the exchanges. For only in this contingency, in the absence of any rationale more compelling than that of exchange for its own sake, can the diacritical of *alliance* be seen as primary (exchange as an excuse, beyond all else, to involve men with one another).

The Kwoma Example

With respect to the Kwoma, his ethnographic type-case, Bowden's paper provokes objections on related theoretical and ethnographic grounds. The theoretical objection is that there can be no alliance in the absence of social groups consistently defined through time and in the absence of enduring, multigenerational affinal relations between such groups. But before such an objection can be conclusive the ethnographic grounds for objection must be presented: that is, we must show that the Kwoma do in fact lack such social groups and such long-term relationships between groups.

Bowden states that Kwoma marriage is a matter of alliances between patrilines, and that patrilines make up exogamous "clans" which comprise "tribes" (Bowden 1988:273). We find this minimal description of social organization insufficient, if only because none of these terms is defined adequately. Moreover, it differs significantly from our own understanding of Kwoma social organization. To correct the deficiency we propose a brief but, we hope, more useful description based on Williamson's fieldwork.[1]

The Kwoma are a Middle Sepik group numbering about 2000, distributed among some eight or nine villages and hamlets in the Waskuk Hills area near Ambunti. The dietary staple is sago, usually complemented by fish obtained in a sago-fish trade with river women. Kwoma also cultivate a variety of garden crops including sweet potatoes, corn, beans, pumpkins, bananas, sugarcane and yams, the last being the focus of ceremonial activity. Indeed, participation in yam fertility ceremonies (*yena*, *minja* and *nogwi*) forms the only consistent basis for identifying themselves as a social group distinct from culturally similar neighbours. "Kwoma," even if enemies in other contexts, regularly attend each other's yam ceremonies; others, however friendly, do not.

More significant to the present discussion is that Kwoma divide themselves into named units, recruitment to which is patrilineal, in the sense that

each of them traces descent to a male ancestor or to ancestral brothers. These units are important because of their mythological totemic association with a number of cultural or natural items (plants, animals, celestial phenomena, household utensils, etc.). Individuals are named on the basis of totemic relationships or after the characters in myths, recounting of which is largely restricted to members of the descent unit. Thus these most inclusive descent units have metaphysical significance. But they have little immediate social significance. The weak internal sanctions against homicide, for example, are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. These units own no land in common; they have no common or exclusive rights to perform rituals; and (most significant for this argument) they do not regulate marriage. They are neither exogamous nor endogamous.

The units are subdivided, but the principles that govern division vary considerably from one unit to another. At least one of them comprises clearly named sub-groups ranked according to seniority; these are exogamous, but the larger descent unit is not. In other cases, the subdivisions have proper names, but they are not ranked and they are not exogamous. Some of the smaller groupings are further subdivided, and these minor divisions sometimes have proper names; but informants are shaky about the names, which seem in fact to refer to former hamlets and not to descent groups per se (cf. Watson 1983:244ff.). In such cases the patrilineage of four or five generations tends to be the exogamous unit. But even this is not consistent throughout Kwoma society. Informants may voice objections to a marriage on the ground that the spouses were raised in adjacent houses. The houses are adjacent because the families belong to the same larger descent unit, but there is no close genealogical tie between them. Similarly related people who have not been raised in adjacent houses incur no such censure if they marry.

In short, the choice of a suitable spouse is not predictably related to membership in a patrilineal descent unit or in any of its subdivisions. Such indeterminacy may bother the anthropologist, but clearly the Kwoma find no difficulty with it. Each person knows the limits within which sex and marriage are forbidden for himself or herself; how other people define themselves is their business. How they are defined varies from group to group, and co-residence may be as important as common descent in that definition.

The definition of the exogamous group may vary within one unit from time to time also. In other words, a given exogamous unit may for various reasons change its own way of defining itself, and thus include lines and persons previously excluded or exclude those previously included. There are several means to accomplish this, including separation by migration and establishing consanguinity by fictive descent; but the most common is the practice of recognizing a distant "brother" in the distribution of wealth fol-

lowing a bride payment or the like. If the "brother" reciprocates in due course, the two distinct groups become one (exogamous) unit. The sons of these men may decide to ignore the connection and its rationale later on. Given these variations we must conclude that in Kwoma society there is no generic or temporally consistent rule defining exogamous units. The only permissible generalization is that all Kwoma do define exogamous units.

It is possible that by "clan" Bowden means the collectively, currently recognized, exogamous descent group. This would, we feel, be an unusual, but not necessarily unacceptable, use of the word. Since he says (Bowden 1988:273) that 24 clans lived in the Honggwama area he worked in (the site, also, of Williamson's research), this interpretation seems probable, since 12 major subdivisions, representing altogether six of the largest descent units, live there. Nonetheless, given the unusual usage, its application should be defined for the sake of clarity. Furthermore, if this is the case, it is hard to see what distinguishes a patriline from a clan in many cases.

Even granting a temporizing use of terminology, however, Bowden's alliance argument cannot be accepted. It is circular. Alliance assumes the presence of social groups consistently defined through time, regardless of the actual number making up the group at any given time; furthermore, it assumes that marriages between such groups establish specific and enduring relationships. If Bowden is using "clan" in the way we suggest, he is saying that the groups related by alliance are created by those alliances. In other words, the clan is defined in terms of a marriage "alliance," but the alliance is also, he argues, defined in terms of clans. Obviously this cannot be.

The most serious concern is Bowden's perception of the relationship of women to patrilines in Kwoma society. In support of his "alliance" model, he states that women contribute to their own bridewealth (Bowden 1988:274-275), that bridewealth recruits the children of a marriage to the father's line but not the wife to the husband's line (ibid.:287), and that "rights in married sisters and their children are ultimately vested not in individuals but in clans as wholes" (ibid.:285). Each of these statements is, however, open to dispute.

First, our understanding of the organization of Kwoma bridewealth prestations is that neither the husband nor his wife contributes to it: a man's father and his older, married brothers collect and present the wealth on his behalf. Williamson's Kwoma informants made it clear that this must be the case because only upon his being truly married does a man assume the responsibilities of exchange with his mother's and his wife's brothers and their heirs (cf. Burridge 1969:95ff.). A couple is truly married only after the wife's brother has accepted the bridewealth. Prior to that time their status as a couple is deliberately ambiguous. They have been cohabiting, but the husband cannot punish the wife for adultery during this time. They have

also been gardening together, but the wife cultivates crops not only on her husband's land but also on her father's.

This liminal period usually lasts three or four years, during which the couple (unless infertile) begin their family. The children are, as Bowden correctly states (Bowden 1988:287), technically the wife's brother's until the bridewealth has been accepted: Kwoma say that should a separation occur during this period the wife could take her children back to her brother's family and he could raise them as his own. But in fact no one reported this ever happening, and so it remains a technicality.

Bowden's statement that women help their husbands amass shell valuables for prestations (Bowden 1988:274) is true in a sense. But he fails to note an important distinction between prestations a man gives his WB and those he gives his MB. What women really do is amass shell valuables to be presented to their brothers, or to their brothers' heirs (BS, BSS); even an elderly widowed woman makes gifts of this kind to her brother's son or to his son's son. Thus any man has a number of sources of shell valuables: his wife, his sister, his FZ, his FFZ, "brothers" who have received valuables themselves and include him in the distribution, etc. But according to Kwoma ideas, that part of a couple's joint wealth that is produced by the wife alone is therefore at her sole disposition and not her husband's. Consequently we argue that shell prestations between a man and his WB are really gifts from a woman to her brother.

This point would seem to bear out Bowden's argument that bridewealth does not recruit a wife to the husband's line, though it does recruit the children. But in fact it does not bear it out. The bridewealth, and subsequent similar prestations, do ensure that the children become a part of the husband's or father's lineage. Like the Daribi, Kwoma are "matrilineal" at heart, but they say that the payment of bridewealth establishes patriliny. Prestations of shell valuables, however, also recruit the woman who links the two lines, being sister to one and wife to the other. Bowden's mistake here, we suggest, is in interpreting all prestations as means to "alliance." We regard these prestations of inedible shells, which counter a brother's reciprocating gifts of food to his sister, as alienating and distancing. They repudiate the sibling link, for social purposes, in favor of the affinal or spousal link (Williamson 1985). We note here, too, in connection with the previous point, that it is the sister herself, and not her husband, who establishes the distance between her natal and marital patrilines.

Nevertheless, Bowden is right to state (Bowden 1988:275) that a woman's ties with her brother's line continue throughout her lifetime. Indeed, women rarely marry men who live too far away for frequent contact to occur. Married women depend on their brothers for moral support; they are said to flee to them if ill treated, and to ask them to arrange the death by

sorcery of a tiresome husband. A woman usually carries a name belonging to her natal line and she does not change it when she marries. In her old age she is expected to bestow it on a newborn daughter of her brother's line.

Ties with a lineage, however, are not necessarily equivalent to inclusion in the lineage; a point we return to in the section on Daribi. We have mentioned the fact that women define themselves, by means of their prestations, as wives, not sisters. Other facts indicate that a married woman is more firmly incorporated in her husband's line than she is retained in her brother's. As mentioned above, women may not work their fathers' or brothers' garden lands after bridewealth has been paid. A man plants a few nut trees for his daughter on his land, and she has the right to their fruit; but she may not collect it herself. (A married woman's brother's gifts of food may recognize some residual rights that she has in the land, as in the Trobriand *urigubu*, but this is not clear.) A widow is married again (if at all) as if she were a sister of her *husband's* brothers, not of her own brother. Her brothers-in-law, or their sons, will receive a modest gift of shells from her new husband and these two lines will recognize a modified affinal relationship. When she dies, she is buried on her husband's land, not her brothers'.

Bowden asserts, finally, that "rights in married sisters and their children are ultimately vested not in individuals but in clans as wholes" (Bowden 1988:285) and that, because this is so, the fact (which he notes; ibid.:284) that women are at liberty to choose their own brothers does not invalidate his alliance model. This assertion is, of course, subject to the same objections that we made to his application of "alliance" to the Kwoma situation, namely, that Kwoma clans, however one might define them, are not "wholes" in the corporate sense that Bowden implies. Just as women may, and do, choose their brothers,[2] so also do men. When bridewealth is collected or distributed, the brothers of the groom and bride, respectively, contribute or receive (cf. Bowden 1988:274-275). Inclusion in this process means that one is a brother, but the fraternal relationship may be based on consanguinity (but it still needs ratification by such sharing), or it may be mutually recognized by two men who have included each other in such distributions in the past. Undeniably such fabricated brotherhood involves men who share totems, but it does not necessarily implicate their own full brothers at all. Thus the circle of kinship that one recognizes both defines and is defined by the movement of marriage shells. The definition is ad hoc, applicable to that union only, and—as we have said—is not properly identified as alliance.

At a funeral payment that Williamson attended in the early seventies an argument occurred that is instructive in the present instance. The substance of the argument concerned which of two mother's brothers of the deceased was the proper recipient of the bulk of the prestation. (The mother and the

brothers were full siblings.) The donors were giving it to the younger of the brothers, but the elder claimed it was his by right, on the ground that a payment goes to the eldest, who is then responsible for distributing it among his juniors. (This is, in fact, the nominal rule.) The donors, however, countered that they had had little to do with the senior brother or he with them, but that the younger brother had been close to the family. The consensus was that the younger brother was indeed entitled by virtue of his previous attentions to the family, and the elder was shut out. Such a decision presupposes that the "rights" to a person for whom such a payment is made are "vested" in an individual, not a group represented by its senior man.

We agree with Bowden that these prestations of food and shell valuables represent affinal relations of an asymmetric kind, and similar exchanges are found elsewhere in the Sepik region (cf. Forge 1971). Kwoma informants stress verbally the inferiority of the ZH as against the WB, a hierarchy that the exchanges themselves, and the disapproval of sister-exchange marriage or marriage with the true FZD, express as well. But, as we stated in the introduction, Kwoma prestations between affines are not simply either the cause of, or the result of, an asymmetric relationship. Elsewhere Williamson (1985) has argued that these exchanges, besides expressing the asymmetric nature of this relationship, also express the tension inherent in the relations between brothers-in-law and the ambiguity of the woman's status as both wife and sister. The food that the WB presents to the couple is intended to incorporate, to insist on the woman's continuing status as sister; the shells given in return deny the social entitlement of that relationship and establish her status as wife.

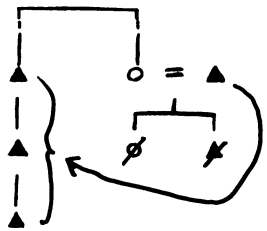
The asymmetric relationship persists, as Bowden says, into the next generation. It differs from the conventional "alliance" relationship, however, in that marriage between the two lines is not allowed until the sister's son's son makes his father's funeral payment to the son's son of the brother (see Fig. 1b); this prestation is said to "finish" the relationship initiated with the marriage, and make possible (though not mandatory) another marriage between the lineages. Furthermore, the relationship between the lineages grows progressively weaker with the generations until that between MMB (or his heir) and ZSS is hardly recognized except by the funeral prestation. Again, we must ask whether any useful purpose is served by calling this increasingly tenuous relationship "alliance."

An Interim Conclusion

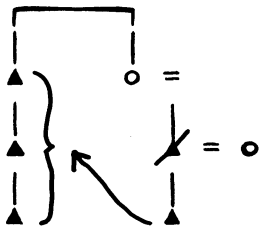
Bowden's answer includes the argument that only by assuming that these exchanges represent affinal alliances can one explain the seemingly anomalous fact that although the mother's brother receives funeral prestations in

all other cases, the brother receives them for a deceased married woman (see Fig. 1). Thus he argues that a woman's marriage effects a transfer of "rights" in her from one lineage to another. But if the exchanges are primarily between individual men (or, as we prefer, between a married couple and the wife's brother), and only secondarily (and nominally) between groups, then it is misleading to speak of transfers of rights in women from MB line to ZD line.

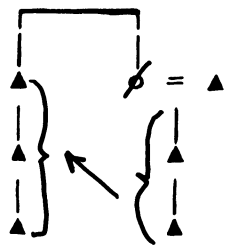
Figure 1
Kwoma Funeral Prestations



a. Scheme of funeral prestations for the death of an unmarried person.



b. Scheme of funeral prestations for the death of a married man.



c. Scheme of funeral prestations for a married woman.

Note: While several donors and recipients are represented in each case, formally only the senior generations participate in prestations.

In fact, an alliance model is not necessary to explain these facts. Instead, we argue that the reason that prestations, whether for marriage or for death, go to a woman's brother and not her mother's brother is that a woman cannot replace her own mother, whereas a man can, and does, replace his own father. That is, one of a man's sons—usually the eldest—takes up his relationships with the sons of his trading partners (*narimboi*; Tokpisin *poroman*), his WB, his MB, and his FMB. Women represent discontinuities in descent: this is, after all, a patrilineal regime.[3] When ego makes a prestation to his FMBSS on the death of his own father he is in effect replicating, for the last time, the original prestation to the wife's brother from the groom and his family, both men in this final prestation replacing their grandfathers. Women, however, do not replace their mothers; therefore they do not give gifts to their mother's brothers. The fact that the payment for an unmarried girl is made to her mother's brother does not contradict this conclusion. Unmarried persons, whether sons or daughters, make no prestations to their mother's brother; their father reciprocates the MB's gifts of food to them with shells at a later time. A son, as mentioned above, assumes this responsibility on his marriage.

A daughter, on the contrary, assumes the responsibility of providing shells for her own brother, whether he is married or not. Because sons can replace fathers, a woman continues to give shells to her brother's son and—should she live long enough—grandson. To the extent that women of younger generations take over roles from senior women, then, a woman becomes her father's sister: the FZ provides shells for her B and BS; the Z provides shells for her B and BS; etc. (cf. the custom cited above, of a woman bestowing her lineage name on her brother's daughter). What emerges from these facts is that the crucial kin-relationship in Kwoma is not that between brothers-in-law, or between spouses, but between siblings of opposite sex (cf. Williamson 1985).

Whatever the interests, strategies or dispositions of the persons involved, the foregoing makes the issue of how the Kwoma (or the ethnographer) might choose to delineate groups as immaterial to the subject of the exchanges as the issue of the need to ally such groups. It is not, then, a matter of how Bowden or anyone else might wish to construe exchanges for theoretical or explanatory advantage, but of how the indigenous people themselves conceptualize and undertake them. In this regard we can perceive a point of analogy between Kwoma and Daribi usage, though it is not that of a "common structure of alliance" in Bowden's terms, but rather the opposite.

The Daribi Example

Over 5000 Daribi speakers occupy the volcanic plateau of Mount Karimui and adjacent limestone country in the southern portion of the Simbu Province of Papua New Guinea.[4] They occupy longhouses, and cultivate sweet-potato as a staple in a regime of bush-fallowing (''slash and burn'') agriculture. Considerations of sharing wealth and meat were traditionally used to demarcate local units and communities[5] in a social regime distinctive for its emphasis on matrilateral payments.

In the Daribi concept of the *pagebidi* (Wagner 1972:49-54) the links of consanguineal substance that extend between a woman and her brothers, and between her offspring through the woman to her brothers, are already present through the fact of exchanging. They are not ''created'' by an act of affinal prestation, but rather pre-exist and motivate the exchanges themselves. Any links of sociality or commonality arising through exchanging are predicated on the pre-existence of these consanguineal ties as a ground condition. Male continuity, substituting a man for his father, a ''given'' in the model of continuing alliance, becomes, like social boundaries, a contingency for continual achievement, and it is ''alliance'' that is given.

Although he cites (and misreads as ''affinity'') an interesting Kwoma parallel, the notion of the ''mother *warchil* tree'' sending out runners (Bowden 1988:278-279), Bowden makes no mention whatever of the *pagebidi* concept. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that this concept condenses and serves to articulate the essentially consanguineal nature of Daribi alliance. Bowden's extensive use of purely theoretical abstractions like ''wife-givers'' (the Daribi idiom is ''sister-giving people'') to replace ''mere local knowledge'' of this sort makes his abstract reconstruction of the Daribi diagrammatically comparable (Bowden 1988:283). But whether his ignorance of the concept is intentional or not, it causes him to gloss over a number of logical steps in the Daribi understanding of social relationships, and then to attribute these steps to failures, inconsistencies and misunderstandings in Wagner's description of the Daribi (cf. Bowden 1988:286-287).

The salience of the term *pagebidi* is that it provides ties of analogic equatability that make it unnecessary for a woman to retain jural membership in her natal clan during her absence in marriage, while at the same time assuring her consanguineal relation. Upon marriage, a Daribi woman's status in her natal clan is assumed by her *pagebidi* (person or persons ''at the base'') by proxy, and it is for this reason that they may come to her assistance or support. Her membership in the husband's clan, secured by bridal payments, severs her personal claim to jural status in her natal clan, but can only do so through the consanguineal ties that allow the *pagebidi* to stand as proxy for her. In effect, the *pagebidi* replace her with respect to the natal

clan. But they can only do this by replacing her original, maternal *pagebidi* with respect to her. Thus they displace the maternal uncle, and do so by virtue of the *pagehaie* (literally "buying the base") payments.

The change of status is marked by turning over a portion of the bridewealth received for her to her maternal kin. Thereafter recruitment payments made on behalf of the children she bears go to those representing her status in her natal clan, by virtue of the consanguineal link with them. It is only because that link is consanguineal (and not affinal, she is not *married* to her *pagebidi*) that her *pagebidi* can stand as proxy for her, and only because her jural membership has been transferred to her husband's clan that it is necessary for them to do so. When, upon her death, the necessity of representing her jural status in her natal clan is abrogated, the role of *pagebidi* reverts to her maternal kin. The fact that her brother receives the death payment tendered at this time, but then relays it to her maternal line, is not an inconsistency as suggested by Bowden (Bowden 1988:289, n. 8), but rather the performative transferral of wealth that marks this transition. Bowden's failure to understand or accept the ongoing consanguineal relationship between a married woman and her brothers also explains his puzzlement (ibid.:289, n. 9) at the Daribi practice of making continual recruitment payments following a marriage.

Here, as in the previous instances, it is the indigenous concept of *pagebidi* that makes abundantly clear just exactly where lineal responsibilities lie, and when and how they may be transferred. Without the cultural and meaningful sense of relationship provided by such indigenous conceptions, the relations involved revert to the bare bones of genealogical description and mechanical modelling, and any sort of fanciful construction may be placed upon them.

We may ask, then, whether Bowden's ostensible "structural similarity" among Kwoma, Chimbu and Daribi does not in fact conceal more than it reveals. For the format of *masiik*, *sobatakep* and *akakep* among the Kwoma has no parallel either among the Chimbu or Daribi. Unlike Tokpisin, idiomatic Daribi never uses the term "head" (*toburu*) for these payments, but draws its imagery from the opposite end of the anatomy, *page*, or "base" (Tokpisin *as bilongen*). The Daribi transitive verb *pagehaie*, to "pay for" or "buy" the "base," is a coherent term, applicable throughout a person's life cycle. It makes explicit reference not to the opportunity afforded for a consociational exchange of wealth, an "alliance" in affinal terms, but to that which is "paid for" or "bought," and it is only in this idiomatic sense of an exchange of wealth for consanguineal substance that "alliance" has any cogency at all in the Daribi context.

Conclusion

The idea of "alliance" as a specifically social function or need is a direct consequence of imagining social segments, units, or groups as autonomous agents in free and open competition (see Wagner 1988:40). If the criteria by which such segments are defined or isolated, however artificially, by the ethnographer, are those of "descent," the implicated necessity of alliance becomes, rather automatically and unreflectively, one of affinity. This is clearly the strategy Bowden has adopted in imputing a "structural similarity" among Kwoma, Daribi and Chimbu alliances. But since the unequivocal definition of social segments by criteria of descent alone is well-nigh impossible, for Kwoma and Daribi at least, and notoriously difficult for many other Melanesian peoples, the setting up of an "alliance" scenario demands a great deal of overlooking and fabrication. Local conceptions must be overridden, and human "personnels" (cf. Watson 1983) broken free of other complex consanguineal associations and relationships.

But if the fabrication of "unilineal descent groups" requires a substantial amount of repression of material, the argument for an ostensibly affinal structuring of alliance necessitates even more. If, as we have shown in both the Daribi and Kwoma cases, a powerfully affective and consanguineally founded relationship between brother and sister underlies, dominates and motivates marital exchanges, virtually the whole indigenous rationale for relationship must be abstracted away in order to "launder" the situation into something that will look like affinity.

If "alliance" is to be retained as a useful concept, in other words, it must be profoundly altered in the direction of indigenous conceptions of gender, identity and relationship. Patriliny, inasmuch as the norm implies replacement of men by other men, is achieved by both Kwoma and Daribi through the displacement of women, and their replacement by proxy. To nullify, ignore or explain away the subtleties of alliance in these indigenous terms is not to explain patriliny, but to ignore it.

Notes

1. Margaret Holmes Williamson conducted fieldwork among the Kwoma from October 1973 to August 1974 and during two months in the summer of 1981. Bowden collaborated during the earlier period of research. Williamson is grateful to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant that made the 1981 trip possible.
2. For example, one of Williamson's informants mentioned, in a discussion about her family, that she counted as her brother a very distantly related male agnate of her own age in Bangwis Village (into which she had married), because, although her mother had had sons, their father belonged to a different descent group from her own and she could not consider them "real" brothers. But she added that if she had no agnates at all in Bangwis she would turn to her half-brothers.

3. This is the attitude Kwoma explicitly express regarding daughters. Furthermore, Kwoma kinship terms include the equivalences MB = MBS = MBSS (what is conventionally called an Omaha terminology) and ZS = ZSS; which indicate that Kwoma do formally regard a son as the father's replacement (cf. Williamson 1980, which Bowden does not cite). On the other hand, FZ = FZD = FZDD, Z = ZD = ZDD, BD = BDD.
4. Roy Wagner carried out fieldwork among the Daribi in 1963-65 and in 1968-1969.
5. The most comprehensive statements on Daribi kin relationships and social organization (neither cited by Bowden) are Wagner 1977 and Wagner 1988.

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BARREN GROUND: RE-CONCEIVING HONOUR AND SHAME IN THE FIELD OF MEDITERRANEAN ETHNOGRAPHY

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Abstract: Despite the differences in perspective that define the field, ethnographers of Mediterranean societies consider the cultural values of honour and shame in a remarkably consistent and theoretically impoverished manner. The article attempts to demonstrate that the rhetorical strategies of structural functionalism continue to characterize discussions of honour and shame in Mediterranean societies, even when anthropologists appear to have rejected this theoretical paradigm. Arguing that to conceptualize the values of honour and shame as a type of juridical code does representational violence to the lives and experiences of Mediterranean peoples, the author advocates a practice-oriented theoretical approach to these cultural values that is more sensitive to social relations of inequality and difference.

Résumé: En dépit des différences de perspective qui définissent le champ, les ethnographes de sociétés méditerranéennes considèrent les valeurs culturelles d'honneur et de honte de façon remarquablement consistante et théoriquement appauvrie. L'article essaye de démontrer que les stratégies rhétoriques du fonctionnalisme structurel continuent à caractériser les discussions traitant de l'honneur et de la honte dans les sociétés méditerranéennes, même si les anthropologues semblent avoir rejeté ce paradigme théorique. En raisonnant que cette conceptualisation du complexe honneur/honte en tant que code juridique n'est que représentation injuste de la vie et de l'expérience des peuples méditerranéens, l'auteure recommande une approche théorique et pratique vis-à-vis ces valeurs culturelles, plus sensible aux relations sociales d'inégalité et de différence.

Nothing has been more definitive of the ethnography of Mediterranean societies than an enduring concern with the cultural values of honour and

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shame. Stanley Brandes argues that the honour/shame theme played a pivotal role in the emergence of the Mediterranean as a culture area and a legitimate regional specialization (Brandes 1987:121). Rather than make another contribution to this enormous literature, I have chosen instead to focus upon a few exemplary studies (Campbell 1964; Davis 1977; Delaney 1987) to argue that despite considerable differences in theoretical perspective, the honour/shame complex has been conceptualized in a remarkably consistent and limited manner. It may well be argued that Mediterranean ethnography is no longer predominantly concerned with considerations of honour and shame. However, to the extent that contemporary anthropologists continue to claim the importance of the honour/shame complex in defining the Mediterranean as a culture area and stress "the continuing fruitfulness of honour and shame as organizing principles for research" (Brandes 1987:121), a critical consideration of the manner in which the concept has been theorized appears both relevant and necessary.

It would seem that a felt need to establish cultural unity *among* Mediterranean societies has resulted in an inability or lack of desire to explore cultural creativity, conflict or resistance *within* these societies. Other scholars have expressed scepticism about the proposition of a Mediterranean cultural area revolving around a series of traits in which the honour/shame complex is central (see Fernandez 1983a, 1983b, 1986; Giordano 1987; Herzfeld 1984, 1985, 1986a; Kielstra 1987; Llobera 1986, 1987; Pi-Sunyer 1986). Some argue that the honour/shame complex does not exist in all Mediterranean societies, others that it exists in too many other societies across time and space to be considered distinctively Mediterranean. More interesting are arguments implicating the honour/shame syndrome in a Northern European or Anglo-Saxon cultural stereotype that neutralizes histories of domination and subordination—anthropologists may unwittingly perpetuate a discourse that legitimates social relations of inequality by continued, unreflective use of these categories (Fernandez 1983a, 1983b, 1986; Herzfeld 1984, 1987; Llobera 1986, 1987). I seek to add another voice to this growing critique of the honour/shame coupling, but I do so on alternative and more modest grounds. My argument emphasizes the elisions, erasures and exclusions in descriptions of local level activities that are consequent upon dominant approaches to honour and shame in Mediterranean societies.

First I will critically and extensively examine Campbell's (1964) work on Sarakatsan shepherds, because I believe his structural functionalist analysis has produced one of the best ethnographies of the Mediterranean. My critique of Campbell's understanding and presentation of the honour/shame complex will risk the charge of anachronism; arguably, it is unfair to criticize our intellectual ancestors for failing to address contemporary theoretical concerns. My point, however, is not to condemn Campbell for the

representational conventions of Oxford ethnography, but to use his work to delineate the rhetorical strategies that characterized structural functionalism. Once these are identified, it becomes possible to see how these conventions operate to obscure certain dimensions of social life. Moreover, I want to demonstrate that the fundamental inadequacies of structural functionalism have not been remedied by subsequent explanations or interpretations of the honour/shame complex that adopt such divergent perspectives as materialism (Schneider 1971), economic determinism (Davis 1977), and structuralist symbolic analysis (Delaney 1987). The problems that plague Campbell's work re-emerge in later elaborations of the cultural complex in other Mediterranean societies even though their authors would deny having a functionalist orientation.

In his classic study of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds, Campbell (1964) sees honour and shame as values and social forms that embody moral attitudes, traditionally common in Greece, that have parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean. He subsumes both the manliness of men and the sexual shame of women under the rubric of honour, which is depicted as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person (Campbell 1964:268) or, more frequently, his or her family. A family's honour is always at stake in relations with others in the community, and the community is the arena in which families compete for honour. Families are internally cohesive and mutually oppositional and it is the opposition of families that gets played out in the community using the cultural idiom of honour and shame. Honour functions, according to Campbell, as a very sticky kind of Durkheimian social glue — what cements people is their agreement on what separates them.

Unequivocal oppositions between families find expression in their competitive behaviour. This serves as a safety valve because competition represents an indirect form of opposition which allows the full participation of antagonistic parties. Because social prestige "depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies" (Campbell 1964:264), one must be constantly involved in activities which demand their engagement. Thus, argues Campbell, "the more they oppose each other, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs" (ibid.) which he defines as "the rules of the game" (ibid.). This is typical of a functionalist tendency to see structures of values, beliefs and forms of cultural expression as means of achieving order, stability and consensus: rules rather than resources, sources of constraint rather than enablement. Competition for prestige is the social bond between families, a notion which reflects the Durkheimian tradition in which cultural systems are seen to reflect the structure of social orders and contribute to their reproduction and continuing coherence.[1]

The social, cultural, economic, political and moral orders of the Sarakatsani are seen as an inextricably interwoven tapestry, without flaws,

broken threads, rough knots, pulls, pattern breaks or borders:

> the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals. (Campbell 1964:19)

Sarakatsan society and culture are represented as a harmonious, internally homogeneous, seamless whole in the "distanced normalizing mode" (Rosaldo 1989) typical of an ethnographic tradition which views culture as an organic unity continually reproducing itself as the "same," consequent upon internal laws that operate without regard to historical contingencies, larger political structures and forces, or international economic trends.

In this vision, honour is a cultural value that operates as an integral part of the reproduction and continued functioning of the productive system defining Sarakatsan society. The benefit of conceiving of honour in this way is that it enables and compels one to see such values, not as mere ideas, ideals, superstructural ideologies or representations, but, in the Wittgenstenian sense, as deeply embedded in a "form of life," or way of being in the world.

This "form of life," however, is an incredibly static one, in which all agonistic conduct serves to reproduce the status quo:

> Prestige is constantly evaluated through the gossip and laughter of others . . . the process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of value. . . . Public opinion, functioning through gossip and ridicule acts to sanction the community's prestige values. (Rosaldo 1989:315)

Within such a framework, all activity always serves to sustain the dominant discourse. Nothing can act to challenge it, modify it or question its assumptions. Any admission of its existence is seen to be an affirmation of its authority. I will be concerned to demonstrate how Campbell's text achieves this effect in a number of different areas and to point out critical conjunctures or moments where this stasis could be transcended.

Campbell presents the values of honour/shame in a manner which precludes any investigation of the possibility of any *struggles* to define the meaning and fix the attribution of these terms in particular historical circumstances. We are given no resources with which we might attempt to discern *differences* in interpretation of these values amongst parties differently

situated. As Herzfeld (1980) notes, in most Mediterranean societies the term resonates in so many ways, and has so many nuances, that evaluations of honour are contentious, negotiated, and never final, and those in one social stratum (i.e., the senoritos in Alcala) may interpret it differently from another (i.e., the peasantry).

Throughout the ethnography we are given a sense of honour as a singular entity—a complex, internally differentiated entity to be sure—of the same value, held in the same regard, and given the same meaning by all members of the society. We are presented with the prevailing world view or dominant ideology (depending upon your political perspective) which appears to be that of those occupying privileged positions in the social structure. Can it really be said that the "individual's foremost concern is prestige and reputation for honour of his family" if the individual we consider is a *Pistiolis*, the subordinate male in a *stani*, the fifth daughter, the disgraced wife or the seduced daughter? What does this system of values look like from their perspective? To say that reputation, founded on honour, is *the* meaning of social life again begs the question of perspective. Certainly this would seem to be the point of view of the dominant adult men in this society but can we assume that this is *the* meaning of social life for women, children, or those whose life situations preclude success in these terms?

Campbell, in what Rosaldo (1989) ironically calls "the classic ethnographic tradition," presupposes a singular cultural order about which consensus prevails, assuming that those whom this order excludes, dispossesses or disempowers, nevertheless seek only to emulate it and achieve success in its terms, regardless of how unlikely such success might be. The possibility that such people might recognize their disempowerment, and critically comment upon the character of the system that accomplishes it, is one that cannot be addressed within a functionalist paradigm. This is not to suggest that such activity always exists; dominant discourses can and often do achieve a hegemonic status that may (almost) completely constitute the "common sense" of a given form of life (Willis 1977). It is, however, to suggest that to define a form of life *in the terms of* such hegemony is to give legitimacy to those who are empowered by it, and to create no space in which one could recognize any *internal* dynamics that might create conditions for challenge or change.

Honour, Family and Patronage, though, is not an entirely synchronic analysis. In addition to situating the Sarakatsani in national history, Campbell also demonstrates how the nature of a person's honour, and the others with whom one's honour is bound up, change over the course of an individual's lifetime. The diachrony introduced to the explication of honour, however, is of a particular kind—an ideal type or composite life-cycle is developed. Again, therefore, we see unfolding structures rather than open-ended

processes. As I will attempt to show, the use of an "ideal life type" as a mode of introducing diachrony acts to reinforce the silencing of those whom the "system" disempowers and deprives us of any sense of their experience.

In the "ideal life type" Campbell creates, a woman gains power as she gives birth to children and these offspring grow older and eventually displace her husband's authority. Such a perspective, however, is only possible for the ethnographer whose omniscient stance enables him to see in any particular woman's life the promise and potential held out by the ideal life cycle. For any given young woman, this trajectory is anything but an established future. She cannot be certain she will marry, will be capable of bearing children at all, even less certain that she will survive childbirth or that its pain will yield culturally valued male children. Even if she does give birth to male children, she has no guarantee that they will survive to adulthood with a reputation for manliness untouched, marry, thrive and prosper, and thus that the autonomy from her in-laws, and eventually her husband, will actually take place (or that her honour will remain intact throughout her lifetime, given its contingency on the competence of men to protect it). In many ways, the projection of an ideal-type life cycle enables the ethnographer to rationalize the domination of women in a manner which effaces the pain, uncertainty and anxiety which would seem to characterize great portions of Sarakatsan women's lives *even if* their lives eventually approximate the ideal type, and especially if they don't.

Although Campbell manifests a great deal of sympathy for the dominated and disciplined position of women in Sarakatsan society and the social and physical hardships they endure through marriage, his account of the society reproduces this domination by denying them any autonomous voice or any recognition of or resistance to their disempowerment. Women are never seen to have any perspective on their situation except one of resignation. The quarrels and struggles between women, for example, are glossed over by Campbell as so much discordant noise, making men's lives difficult or unpleasant. We are told that wives of brothers are expected to quarrel because of women's identities with their children and that the children of the various wives have divergent interests. Such quarrels, however, are denied any particularity (being mere static generated by the system's operation), or any independent force in the system itself, for Campbell insists that it is primarily men's obligations to their children that accounts for the growing distance from brothers which results in the disintegration of the corporate group, rather than women's displeasure, antagonism or desire for family independence.[2]

Campbell also mentions that members of one gender often criticize the contributions made by the other to the family unit, but quickly incorporates

such criticisms by insisting that they "serve to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles" (Campbell 1964:275). Again, conflict and resistance is seen merely as affirmation of dominant cultural values. It is undoubtedly true that all humans are obliged to speak with a received language—cultural idioms that are inscribed with the social relations of power these idioms support. This does not necessarily imply, however, that all modes of speaking are the same, or that all use of dominant cultural codes operate to reproduce the status quo in the same way.

Take, for example, Campbell's observation that women are conscious of a common fate, and that their solidarity is demonstrated when they "speak together of their common subjection to men in sexual activity," of their dislike of sex, their absence of physical pleasure and their sympathy for the bride-to-be who asserts an intent to bring a knife and castrate her husband (Campbell 1964:275-276). Can these conversational practices so easily be characterized as activity that reinforces cultural norms? Merely by giving voice to these sentiments, women are speaking about what Campbell elsewhere describes as the unspeakable for women. That they do so in a cultural idiom that makes reference to dominant cultural values does not justify depicting such protests as affirmations of the status quo. These dialogues both represent and reproduce an internalization of sexual shame *and* embody real resistance to the relations of power that the honour/shame complex supports. That structures of power are reproduced by the resistance activity of those whom they dominate has often been demonstrated (see, e.g., Willis 1977). But, once again, we risk defining culture from the point of view of those who benefit most from its discursive forms if we represent all challenges to its norms in terms of their revolutionary or transformative impact (i.e., no transformation = no challenge) instead of exploring the meaning of these challenges from the point of view of those who initiate them.[3]

It is, for example, hard to determine from Campbell's account whether this commentary by women is really an affirmation or a rejection of their dominant cultural portrayal as evil, sensual, insatiable creatures whose powerful sexuality must be disciplined and redeemed. One could argue that conversations like those mentioned above constitute a *denial* by women that they have these attributes and thus an assertion that their subjugation is unnecessary and unfair. A structural functionalist perspective, however, predisposes one to argue that these women are just publicly affirming their acceptance of dominant values by demonstrating that they have so completely realized the ideal of female sexual shame that they are incapable of experiencing sexual pleasure. Neither of these interpretations can be said to be "correct" and, indeed, we might have to entertain the possibility that both are true *simultaneously*—that is to say, that women consciously recognize the ambiguity of these statements and the multiplicity of meanings at

play which gives these activities both their appeal and their subversive potential. As Rosaldo suggests, "In many cases the oppressed fail to talk straight. . . . Precisely because of their oppression, subordinate people often avoid unambiguous literal speech. They take up more oblique modes of address laced with double meanings, metaphor, irony and humor" (Rosaldo 1989:190).

Such a proposition also casts a different light on Campbell's later statement that women *accept* the dominant cultural portrayal of their gender and that this acceptance is demonstrated by the fact that they "take perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and deceiving men" (Campbell 1964:278). Again the perspective of the powerful is adopted—perverse to whom? From the point of view of men such pride may seem perverse; whether women see it this way is another matter. To characterize such pride as "compensatory" is, again, to deny women's interpretations and challenges any influence; their "perversity" is merely permitted as a harmless sop given their general disempowerment. If we were to explore the contexts and practices in which women expressed and acted upon such pride we might gain interesting insights into the ways in which dominated groups deploy the elements of cultural codes in "tactics" and "strategies" that may subtly but surely modify the structures of domination themselves (de Certeau 1984).

Campbell's monograph is certainly only one of several structural functionalist accounts of Mediterranean social codes of honour. I have taken examples from Campbell's ethnography to hold up to critical scrutiny, but examples might also have been taken from Peristiany (1965) or Pitt-Rivers (1961, 1963, 1977). Rather than document more examples from within British structural functionalism, however, I wish to move beyond the paradigm to demonstrate that the inadequacies in the treatment of *cultural* forms that characterize it, are, curiously, not avoided by those who have challenged structural functionalist assumptions about *social* relations. For example, in his comprehensive survey of Mediterranean anthropology, Davis (1977) attempted to refute the claims of egalitarianism that characterized structural functionalist ethnographies by demonstrating the existence of socioeconomic inequalities and the role of the honour/shame complex in expressing them. Davis sees the code of honour as a "system of stratification" defined as a "socially construed embodiment of the realities of material differentiation" which converts them into guidelines for social action (Davis 1977:75). Honour, then, is related more or less directly to the distribution of wealth and individual control of resources.

Davis' insistence on linking honour exclusively or primarily with socioeconomic standing—defined in terms of material resources and social status—has been challenged (see especially Brandes 1987; Gilmore 1987;

Herzfeld 1980, 1987) and countered with evidence from a number of Mediterranean cultures. However, his discussion of honour as a cultural phenomenon does not depart significantly from previous discussions of the subject.

Davis reinterprets Campbell's data on the Sarakatsani to illuminate the presence of socio-economic inequality, affirming Campbell's unelaborated judgment that "among all Sarakatsani, some are clearly superior, some clearly inferior, while the vast majority—about four-fifths—struggle in the middle" (Davis 1977:85) (also suggesting that the top and bottom categories may be larger than Campbell recognizes). He notes that it is characteristic of such pastoral societies that "wealth attracts greater wealth, while poor men are ignored. The more prosperous a Sarakatsanos is the more he attracts associates to his company, and the leadership of a wealthy man is the focus for the aspirations of the middle sort of shepherd. Poor men do not associate with anyone" (Davis 1977:86).

Davis reiterates prior suggestions that the lower orders of Mediterranean societies cannot and do not participate in these evaluations because they lack the resources to be evaluated in these terms. The notion of honour, the struggles to maintain it, and the activity of ascribing and withholding it are chiefly preoccupations of "the indeterminate middle section of the communities, where rank is uncertain"(Davis 1977:99). Conflicts over honour then, are most often "between near-equals struggling for an edge over their rivals" (Davis 1977:96). Although many of these societies seem to hold a belief that all men are born with honour intact, those in lower groups are seldom accorded it in social life, and honourable behaviour is neither expected of them, nor recognized as such; without wealth or associates a man lacks the resources necessary to assert honour.

These insights about the social specificity of the situations in which honour/shame is negotiated prompt a host of questions about the deployment of these significative forms that Davis fails to explore. If men of lower orders are not evaluated by the wider society in these terms, how are they evaluated? Ethnographers unwittingly accept the point of view of the "middle classes" by denying these people any distinctions, viewing them, as they are viewed by those who participate in the competition for honour, as an undifferentiated underclass. The possibility that these people might have alternative cultural means for evaluating themselves, and that such evaluations might embody a commentary on dominant cultural codes, goes unexamined. The meaning that those who are marginalized give to their exclusion from dominant cultural idioms of stratification remains invisible, or is glossed simply as an attitude of resignation (Davis 1977:92). At the other end of the social scale, we are left similarly uninformed. The probability that élites give different meanings to honour, interpreting it differently than the peasantry or middle orders, has been noted (Herzfeld 1980:342; Pitt-

Rivers 1977:1-17), but rarely elaborated. The social range of the use of these cultural forms has been narrowed, but the idea of it as a singular unified code remains intact. The interactions of those who engage it, those who are excluded from it, and those who interpret it differently, are not seen to implicate, shape or modify the code itself. Even when inequality is recognized as a *social* reality, its *cultural* ramifications are not pursued. Inequalities, when acknowledged, are addressed in purely material terms and cultural forms remain untouched by social struggles.

If Davis (1977) links the honour/shame complex to economic stratification, Schneider (1971) connects it to underlying social structural oppositions in Mediterranean societies (social structure and control of resources), Ortner (1978) sees it as an ideological mystification determined by social relations of production and state formation that require the domestication of female sexuality, and Gilmore (1987) relates it to psychosexual factors—a resolution of gender-identity ambivalence and internal developmental conflicts, Delaney (1987) links it to some political implications of the state religions of the area. In each case we are presented with a code that needs to be unlocked by anthropologists by examining something which lies underneath it and can be seen to generate or explain it.

I will focus upon Delaney because her explanation is so resolutely cultural and therefore seems more likely to transcend the limitations of the structural functionalist approach to honour and shame than the explanations of her more sociologically oriented counterparts. In Delaney's case, "social structure, politics, economics, and ecology" (Delaney 1987:36) are rejected as conditional rather than determinative factors in favour of procreation as a cultural construct embedded in a wider religious system of beliefs about the world: "Briefly stated, I suggest that honor and shame are functions of a specific construction of procreation which, in turn, is correlative with the religious concept of monotheism" (Delaney 1987:36).

Delaney delivers a sophisticated and persuasive presentation of the pervasive symbolic logic of sexuality that defines the Mediterranean region's cosmology and serves to explain the cultural resonance or meaning of a wide variety of practices. Although extremely convincing metaphorical linkages are drawn at a macro-level, we are left without an understanding of local level practices and a picture of social agents acted upon by external forces but rarely agents operating within and upon the structures so imposed. As Brandes notes, "we are presented with a lexical distinction in Turkish between different types of honor, but never learn whether or how these terms are *used* at the folk level" (Brandes 1987:125; emphasis added).

Delaney reveals a desire to transcend the juridical model of honour/shame as normative code with the promising initial assertion that "the mistake has been to interpret the honour code somewhat like a dress code—as a

set of rules and regulations—focussed on a superficial conformity. Instead, I propose that it is more like a kind of genetic code—a structure of relations—generative of possibilities" (Delaney 1987:35). But it soon becomes clear that for Delaney, such possibilities are realized *among* Mediterranean cultures but not *within* them. To extend her metaphor, the schoolgirls who find ways of expressing their individuality by manoeuvring within the constraints of official dress codes are Mediterranean societies, not the individuals who comprise them. Consequentially, we are given no account of how people within Turkish society exploit the generative possibilities afforded by such a logic in their everyday pursuits, political struggles and social disputes. A specific culture, once again, is presented as the ubiquitous seamless whole without ambiguity, paradox or contradiction, which remains untouched by the practices of social agents who blindly reproduce it.

Herzfeld (1980) has made the important point that honour is an inefficient gloss on a wide variety of indigenous values and that the component elements of honour differ from place to place. Thus, attempts to fix the definition of honour as an index of some other socially valued trait or capacity do violence to the complexity of the symbol in particular social contexts. Recognizing that symbols are multivalent and multivocal, we should be attuned to the variety of ways in which a dominant symbol speaks to people in any given situation, and the possibility that it speaks to different people differently. It is its very *lack* of fixity, or the multiplicity of its referents that makes honour so powerfully resonant in Mediterranean societies.

In his early work, Herzfeld (1980) also addresses honour as an index of conformity to a social code. Again, we are dealing with a juridical, rule-following model in which the code remains a static structure.[4] In more recent work (1984, 1985, 1986b) Herzfeld begins to formulate an idea of the code of honour along the lines I have been advocating—as a repertoire of available symbolic resources put to use in significative practices or as an ever-transforming structure that is emergent in performance. In discussing Blok's (1981) attempts to subsume diverse cultural terms and symbols into a Mediterranean code of honour (that is itself taken as evidence of Mediterranean cultural homogeneity), Herzfeld remarks that:

> the evidence suggests that the symbols which Blok analyzes are used with considerable internal variation and with richly inventive interpretation at the local level, and that what we see instead of a single code is a highly complex series of overlapping and restlessly shifting *bricolages*. (Herzfeld 1984:445)

Symbols, terms and images associated with honour are signifying resources "differentially activated according to circumstances" (Herzfeld 1984:446).

Herzfeld (1986b) further elaborates this position in his discussion of the use of gender categories in ethnographies of Greece. He argues that anthro-

pologists, in their preoccupation with binary cultural oppositions, lose sight of the essentially manipulable, rhetorically subtle nature of significant symbols and their capacity for transformation. He suggests that we focus on situating the uses of gender symbolism in specific historical settings and goes on to discuss the gendered categories of *filotimo* and *dropi* (elsewhere glossed as honour and shame) as they are deployed to articulate experiences of national identity and negotiate complex relationships between different levels of identity at national, regional and local levels of social life.

This suggests that one of the ways in which anthropologists could avoid reproducing the inadequacies of structural functionalism (which also characterize contributions from other theoretical perspectives), is, as Davis himself recognized, to write accounts of Mediterranean societies in which the interplay of cultural forms and social inequalities are traced through history (Davis 1977:76). Such accounts can be found in Richard Maddox's historical studies of the Andalusian town of Aracena (1987; forthcoming), which I will draw upon to demonstrate how the cultural concepts of honour and shame might be revitalized to inform larger theoretical concerns with the interrelationship between culture and power.

Maddox gives the concept of honour far more complexity because instead of attempting to pin it down, define it, or explain it in terms of material, ecological, social or cosmological determinants, he narrates its use and deployment in the strategies and tactics of agents who are differentially situated in the social relations characterizing the region at specific historical junctures. In this way, he avoids the dangers of structural functionalist analysis to which so many other Mediterraneanists fall prey. As I shall point out later, however, a "theory of practice" approach[5] poses its own risks against which we should maintain constant vigilance.

Let us take, as an example of his concern with cultural praxis, Maddox's account of the story of Madre Maria, a *beata* who lived in Aracena in the 17th century, and her nephew, Juan, who was an officer in Aracena's militia:

> One day, Juan found himself involved in a heated argument with a man in a tavern in Seville. The man struck Juan, and Juan didn't return the blow. Word of this spread, and soon people in Aracena began telling Juan that if he did not answer the insult, he would "live without honour" for the rest of his life. When Juan decided to avenge himself, the saintly Madre Maria intervened [and convinced him to leave his vengeance to God as a Christian]. . . . The Captain of Juan's militia company lodged a formal complaint against Juan with the Conde of Villainbrosa . . . [that] alleged that Juan had been disgraced and recommended that he be stripped of his military commission. . . . [Madre Maria] wrote to a friend of hers who was a ranking government official in Seville and asked him to intervene on Juan's behalf. . . . [He

> met with Conde and at a strategic moment] presented the reasons for reconsidering the case that Madre Maria had advanced and put them forward as his own. Impressed with the official's argument, the Conde decided to absolve Juan . . . instead of punishing Juan because he had not avenged himself as a soldier, he favored him because he had proceeded as a Christian. (Maddox 1987:2-3)

Maddox interprets this affair of honour by looking at each of the protagonists: the social position each occupied, the cultural values each held and appealed to (including those of honour and shame), and their respective self-interests and political goals. What becomes clear in the course of his analysis of this incident and others (Maddox forthcoming), is that in any given situation there are alternative (culturally mediated) modes of proceeding, and that the decisions individuals make involve "a multiplicity of discursive strands that echo and reanimate the modes of representation at the core of the culture" (Maddox 1987:6). Rarely are individuals faced with a situation where only the values of honour/shame are at stake (or where the meanings of these are self-evident). Values and meanings of religion, honour, shame, kinship and patronage intersect and dialectically condition each other, and actor's strategies involve interpretations of this configuration:

> Each discursive strand is somewhat autonomous but also dialectically conditioned by the way in which it relates to other cultural elements. Thus, in some measure, what it means for Madre Maria's nephew to be regarded as honorable is conditioned by what it means for him to be regarded as religious. . . . [Although] in the orthodox view of the text, religious values and spiritual meanings ought in principle to encompass and transcend worldly values related to personal honor and family interests . . . in the practices the text describes, as opposed to the orthodoxy it affirms, it is clear that worldly values of honor, shame and the defense of family reputation and patrimony are assumed to be everyday concerns . . . religious and secular notions alike lend support to patronage as an ideal form of social relationship among unequal parties [which is] multiply voiced not only in terms of the demands of honor and of spiritual virtue but also as a moral extension of natural family-like duties to non-kin. (Maddox 1987:6-7)

In order to understand this culture, then, we need to understand the contradictions and "tensions as well as the convergence in the values of religion, honor, kinship, and patronage" (Maddox 1987:7) as these are manifested in specific historical conjunctures, and how particular aspects of the structural manifestations of social power are "activated, reinforced or challenged, as mandated by circumstances and the aims of the people involved" (Maddox 1987:8).

Maddox argues that although discursive formations of this complexity are manifest in many ethnographic studies in the Mediterranean region, the focus on honour/shame, either as an underlying cultural code of master symbols or as the ideology of specific groups, has resulted in an inability to address honour and shame as one discourse within a wider constellation of values and meanings which form a "repertoire of signifying practices that inform schemes of possible action" (Maddox 1987:9). Investigating "culture" as a process rather than a code "opens the possibility of comparing the range of habitual and improvisational procedures by means of which persons, communities, and policies become and maintain who and what they are" (ibid.).

The thrust of Maddox's argument parallels my critique of exemplary anthropological discussions of honour in its determination to address the *uses* to which cultural discourses are put in the activities of everyday life, and in its recognition that such practices cannot be examined in isolation from considerations of the positions occupied by agents in social space and the meanings they give to those positions, which must of necessity draw upon the cultural resources available to them.

My reservations about theories of culture that emphasize local practice derive from a fear that in our quests to carve out room for the creative practices of diversely situated social agents, we may deny the constitutive cultural dimension of consciousness itself. In other words, we do have to guard against neo-utilitarian accounts of cultural strategies which unwittingly reproduce dominant liberal discursive constructions of self that envision social agents as autonomous consumers, freely picking and choosing amongst cultural forms like so many products enticingly arranged on a supermarket shelf to maximize their self-defined pleasures.[6] An understanding of culture as constantly reproduced, modified and transformed in the practices of social agents must be combined with a recognition that the motivations for such activities are also constrained and enabled by social traditions of cultural practice (see Coombe 1989a:72-88; Ortner 1984). Both the activities and the consciousness of social agents are shaped within cultural systems of meaning that people themselves are constantly recreating. We collectively create meaning in practice, but we do so within cultural constraints of convention and tradition that provide enabling resources for that very activity (see Coombe 1989a:88-99).

Furthermore, close attention to the social situation of individuals and groups is necessary to convey a sense *both* of the habitual and the improvisational nature of the signifying practices in which Mediterranean peoples. In other words, we do need to continue to specify the social and semantic limits within which their cultural creativity operates, for such limits are cru-

cial to an understanding of the nature of such practices in relations of domination and resistance.

Ongoing consideration of the honour/shame complex in the field of Mediterranean anthropology holds promise only insofar as the continuing tendency to adopt the predispositions of structural functionalism is transcended. Local, contextualized accounts of individual and group negotiations of the meaning of honour and shame in specific social situations should be central to Mediterranean ethnography. Such accounts enable us to better understand the complexity of people's experiences in these societies and the relationship between culture and power which shapes them.

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Notes

1. For a discussion of functionalist and structuralist perspectives on structure and the possibilities for transforming such approaches to incorporate a greater recognition of human agency, see Coombe 1989a; Giddens 1976, 1979, 1984.
2. Campbell notes that the Sarakatsani themselves "claim that brothers would undoubtedly live together all their lives if it were not for the quarrels of their wives" but finds this a "rather too simple explanation" (Campbell 1964:71), asserting that differences between women provide the occasions for separation but never the *real* cause or determinant.
3. In her collection of essays on gender and power in rural Greece, Jill Dubisch (1986) manifests a desire to transcend models of Greek culture that perpetuate the privileging of male perspectives and deny women's comprehensions of cultural realities. A number of essays in the volume explore the question of female acquiescence, resignation or acceptance of dominant values, and the extent to which women have a "muted" culture or latent power that may be culturally recognized, even if men and women accord it different degrees of legitimacy. Dubisch's discussion (1986:26-35) of women as actors and their "muted" cultural models holds particular promise.
4. Julian Pitt-Rivers (1977:x) provides the clearest articulation of the juridical concept of honour in *The Fate of Shechem* where he asserts that "there is first of all a general law of honour, as there is of hospitality, reminiscent of the concept of natural law except that it rests upon social necessity rather than moral absolutes, and then, providing the basis of action at a specific time and place, the various codes of honour as of hospitality like the legal codes of various nations." The prevalence of such juridical analogies in anthropological descriptions of culture is remarkable. As an anthropologist I have been repeatedly struck by the violence that juridical models do to our understanding of culture. As a legal scholar, I wonder whether the juridical model doesn't also do violence to our understanding of law. Suffice it to say that I believe we need a less legal understanding of culture and a more cultural understanding of law. (For discussions of the complex relationship between law and culture see Coombe 1989a, 1989b, 1990.)

   After suggesting that honour is like law, Pitt-Rivers then analogizes it to magic:

> We might liken it to the concept of magic in the sense that, while its principles can be detected anywhere, they are clothed in conceptions which are not exactly equivalent from one place to another. Like magic also, it validates itself by an appeal to the facts (on which it imposes its own interpretations) and becomes thereby involved in contradictions which reflect the conflicts of the social structure. . . . (Pitt-Rivers 1977:1)

As I have argued elsewhere (1989a, 1989b) the law works in a similarly "magical" way and this description of "magic" may well describe all systems of "local knowledge" (see Geertz 1983).

5. Maddox adopts an approach which in important respects approximates the type of analysis suggested by Pierre Bourdieu in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977). "Theories of practice" are also comprehensively surveyed in Ortner (1984), and explicated (in terms of a reconceptualization of structure and subjectivity) in Coombe (1989a).
6. Of course this doesn't even appropriately represent North American commodity consumption practices, but that is another topic. I have stressed the need to simultaneously rethink the nature of subjectivity with our reconsideration of cultural codes or structures elsewhere (Coombe 1989a). In that discussion I outline some of the potential dangers of a theory of practice that fails to attend to the cultural influences that shape a sense of self, and people's interests, preferences and desires.

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ARCTIC HYSTERIA IN SALEM?

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Abstract: The outbreak of "witchcraft" in Salem was the most widespread of several similar occurrences in late 17th-century New England. Although many people later became involved in accusations and counter-accusations, the original 8 to 10 afflicted girls were affected by a behaviour-altering phenomenon which their contemporaries did not recognize as having natural causes. It was more than a month later that witchcraft was diagnosed. In this paper I am suggesting that the original cause of the behavioural abnormalities may have been the condition now called *pibloktoq* or Arctic hysteria. The cause of this behavioural anomaly is not completely understood but there is a substantial argument that it is influenced by low or fluctuating levels of calcium cations (hypo-calcemia) which also reciprocally affect the phosphate balance. The running, yelling, convulsive behaviours manifested are very similar in the two conditions although they may easily have been regarded as unnatural in 1692, since the phenomenon of *pibloktoq* was not diagnosed until the late 19th century. Data concerning diet, light levels and activity patterns of 17th-century lifestyles are drawn from recorded information and indicate that calcium levels may indeed have been low in young women of that time period. If skeletal material were available for examination it is possible that metabolic deficiencies could be ascertained, but at present such material cannot be located.

Résumé: La manifestation de la «sorcellerie» à Salem était la plus repandue de cas semblables en Nouvelle Angleterre vers la fin du 17e siècle. Même si beaucoup de gens étaient impliqués dans l'affaire plus tard, les 8 à 10 filles atteintes au début étaient affectées par un phénomène modifiant leur comportement que leurs contemporains ne pouvaient pas traiter en tant qu'ayant des causes naturelles. La sorcellerie a été diagnostiquée un mois plus tard. L'auteur propose que le comportement anormal des filles était peut-être causé par une condition que l'on appelle *pibloktoq*, ou hystérie arctique. La cause de cette condition n'est pas encore bien connue, mais il semble qu'elle est influencée par un niveau bas ou fluctuant de cations de calcium (*hypocalcémie*) qui, de façon réciproque, affecte aussi l'équilibre de phosphate. L'excitation, les cris et les convulsions manifestés sont presque

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identiques dans les deux cas; par contre, ce genre de comportement a dû sembler anormal en 1692, car le phénomène de *pibloktoq* n'a été découvert que vers la fin du 19e siècle. L'information sur la nourriture, les nivaux de lumière et les activités habituelles du 17e siècle est tirée de documentation indiquant que le niveau de calcium aurait bien pu être bas chez les jeunes femmes de cette période. Si des restes squelettiques étaient disponibles pour examination, l'on pourrait vérifier l'étendue des déficiences métaboliques. A présent, ces restes ne peuvent pas être localisés.

Introduction

Many theories have been presented in an attempt to explain what caused the outbreaks of witchcraft accusations in 17th-century North America. Probably because of the numbers of people involved and the consequences of accusation, the most famous cases were those occurring at Salem, Massachusetts in 1691-92. A number of causal explanations have been suggested to account for the spate of accusations. Past authors have investigated the phenomenon by referring to case histories, court records and psychological reasoning (e.g., Caulfield 1943, Mather 1862 and Hansen 1968 in Mappen 1980) to suggest factors of political and psychological stress which might have been sufficient to cause the afflicted behaviours. Hansen (1969) argues that the psychological consequences of living in unsettled times along with a harsh Puritan lifestyle may have led to clinical hysteria. Mappen (1980) presents a whole range of possibilities from the social stress of internal political arguments, through actual demonic possession to outright lying. A more concrete physical cause is suggested by Caporael (1976) who used maps of town fields to make an argument that the rye crop in one area was poisoned by ergot fungus and thus affected a particular group of people whose fields were close together. Each of these interpretations has its adherents and its critics. This paper adds to the list of suggestions the argument that a physiological condition of hypocalcemia similar to one of the suggested etiologies for Arctic hysteria (*Pibloktoq*) could have been an underlying factor in the outbreak of bizarre behaviours manifested by the 10 originally afflicted young women.[1]

Three lines of evidence are being utilized to support this proposal. The first part of the paper focusses on a comparison of the symptoms displayed in cases both of Arctic hysteria and of the 10 young women who originally exhibited the bizarre behaviours which convinced their compatriots that they were possessed. Although a clear understanding of the factors underlying Arctic hysteria has not been attained, several studies seem to indicate that a state of hypocalcemia is closely connected with its manifestations

(Foulks 1972; Katz and Foulkes 1970; Gussow 1960; Wallace and Akerman 1960). There are a number of different subsets of Arctic Hysteria but this paper will focus on the "winter madness" or *Pibloktoq* as it was named by Josephine Peary in 1893. That the Puritans of 17th-century New England were not familiar with this set of symptoms is demonstrated by the fact that almost two months elapsed before witchcraft was diagnosed, in a society that was obsessed with fear of witches and the devil (Miller 1954). The incidence of hypocalcemia may be controlled by a wide variety of factors which fluctuate periodically in populations under particular dietary stress. The state of calcium balance in humans is affected by the dietary intake of calcium, the intake of nutrients which are antagonistic to calcium absorption, levels of vitamin D, which is required for calcium metabolism, the constancy of circadian rhythms which maintain metabolic balance and levels of acidity in the blood which can be affected by hyperventilation brought on by sudden shock. The gender of the afflicted is also relevant because of the alterations in nutrient metabolism due to menstrual cycling, as well as to the more restricted and heavily clothed lives that women in many cultures lead. Therefore, the first section of the paper examines the general dietary conditions and activity patterns that can result in pathologically low calcium levels. The argument continues with a brief examination of neurological connections between hypocalcemia and uncontrolled agitated behaviour. Calcium level fluctuations effect nerve responses with great rapidity. This factor would have made it possible for those who felt they were afflicted by witchcraft to have "fallen into fits" almost immediately at the sudden appearance of the women accused of tormenting them. An explanation of this volatility is important because the immediacy of their seizures at the sight of the accused witches has long convinced many people that the girls were lying and simulating their afflictions.

Part 2 of the paper presents evidence concerning the conditions existing in Salem during the late 1600s. The dietary situation and activity patterns of colonial Massachusetts residents in general and adolescent girls in particular are examined to ascertain if they were at risk of being hypocalcemic. Ambient light levels are also important in maintaining the correct absorption level of calcium ions as well as the regularity of circadian rhythms in the body. Therefore architecture, type of windows, light sources and time spent outside are relevant details of investigation.

In Part 3, the data are derived from an examination of the particular living conditions of the 10 originally afflicted young women. I have focussed on these individuals in particular because it is possible that those who showed symptoms subsequently may have picked up the behaviours of affliction for a number of social, political or psychiatric reasons, and contributed to the "snowball" effect of accusation and counter-accusation (Hansen

1969; Boyer and Nissenbaum 1972). In addition to these young women, I will mention a few other cases with similar symptoms of affliction. The fits which were the central symptom of the outbreak occurred in less than half the witchcraft torments recorded in New England (Demos 1982) and this may have been one feature which made the diagnosis a difficult one.

One very clear method of testing the hypothesis that 17th-century New Englanders and particularly those in Salem may have suffered from low calcium levels would be analysis of skeletal remains. If it had been possible to track down the grave sites of any of the originally afflicted women it might have been possible to analyse some of the skeletal remains for indications of mineral deficiencies. The internal structure of bone responds to dietary stress by remodelling in an effort to minimize the effects of such stresses (Huss-Ashmore et al. 1982). The effects of stress remodelling can be observed by taking small plugs of bone from the femur and examining them in cross section at a microscopic level. This technique has the advantage that deficiencies in calcium level can be determined by analysis of very small bone fragments (Richman et al. 1979). Another possible study technique uses a sample of rib bone over 5.5 grams. Ashing of these bone samples permits the levels of calcium and phosphorus remaining in the bone to be ascertained and permits comparison with the levels found in the remains of other individuals (Katzenberg 1984). This technique also reveals whether calcium from the soil is contaminating the sample. Either of these techniques of ascertaining levels of calcium in the skeletal remains of those afflicted by seizures might provide evidence for the explanation which has been suggested here.

However, because of the 1695 decision by the judges that they were mistaken in condemning so many to death as witches, their accusers tended to keep a very low profile after their brief period of notoriety. Investigations in the Essex County Institute did not reveal where any of them were buried. Most of the young women married, changed their names and moved away to other communities. In addition, bone preservation in Massachusetts soil is very poor (Spence P.C.) and permission to excavate graveyards of that time period is difficult to obtain (Armelagos P.C.). Therefore even bone samples of the general population from the relevant time would not be available, unless perhaps skeletal material was being moved for some other purpose and samples could be taken. Also, since bone is a living substance, responding to its environment, later changes in life circumstances such as an improved diet for adult women might mask evidence of calcium levels at an earlier life stage.

Other sources of information which could be investigated to support the hypothesis of low calcium levels in 17th-century New England populations would include medical reports referring to rickets, osteomalacia and diffi-

culties in healing bone fractures. Contemporary portraits could also assist in assessing the possible presence of diseases such as rickets which would indicate calcium stress in the population. This type of evidence might be more available than direct skeletal material but is limited by the level of extrapolation and inference required to sift past 17th-century diagnostic abilities as well as variable levels of artistic skill and convention in representation. The major value of suggesting these alternative lines of evidence lies in the potential they hold for providing data in other cases of altered behaviour states attributed to possession where testing is more feasible than in the case of the Salem afflicted. Episodes of hysteric behaviour states have occurred in a large number of populations under dietary stress, such as the Djerid of Tunesia, the Nguni Bantu, the Digo women of Kenya and poor Ethiopian women (Kehoe and Giletti 1981). However, on the other hand I would like to stress that I am not attempting to explain the phenomenon of witchcraft affliction in general, but rather suggesting a component that may have been acting in particular cases. The hypothesis that I am proposing is that the behaviour of these young women was affected by the occurrence of hypocalcemia in a syndrome that has become known as "Arctic hysteria" or *pibloktoq*. I realize that, unless some very exceptional circumstances ensue, the true cause of these strange behaviours will probably never be known. Nevertheless, in an ensemble of political, social, religious and psychological arguments it seems reasonable to suggest that there may be room for physical and physiological bases for manifestations of altered behaviour states. This is particularly the case now that we are more aware of the consequences of alterations in trace element composition on human behaviour (Rubin et al. 1985).

Part I – Symptoms of the Disorders

A comparison of the following lists of symptoms for the two conditions of witchcraft affliction and Arctic hysteria reveals their extensive similarity. These effects are then compared with the consequences of deficiencies in calcium metabolism. These consequences mainly centre on uncontrolled firing of the nervous system and muscle spasming which can lead to convulsions. The fits which affected the young women of Salem manifested themselves periodically in two noticeable stages. The following list of symptoms is compiled from several sources, but principally Mappen (1980) and Demos (1982).

Initial Onset

- Victim anxiously preoccupied;
- fainting, hysterical crying, disordered speech;

Acute Stage

- Frenzied motor activity, including rolling on the ground, running aimlessly and trying to fly, tearing at clothes;
- occasional breaking out in animal imitations, "bark like a dog, purr like so many cats, bleat like a calf";
- contortions of body, extreme rigidity alternating with complete limberness, extreme convulsions, very strong, requiring several people to hold them;
- pricking, pinching, burning, sensation of choking or strangulation, gasping for breath;
- hallucinations;
- loss of hearing, speech, memory, appetite;
- all of these alternating with frolicsome intervals of cavorting, babbling, insults and gestures of assault directed towards bystanders, friends and family.

Intervals of hours or days would occur in which the victims showed little memory of their behaviour, but rather manifested an attitude of lassitude and melancholy. The muscular effects of the fits referred to in this condition are described as "beyond the power of any epileptic fits or natural disease to effect" (Rev. John Hale of Beverly quoted by Hansen 1969:1). Cotton Mather who had a medical degree and examined several witchcraft victims at close hand affirmed that these fits were stronger than those found in epilepsy (Caulfield 1943).

Arctic hysteria is a very general term and seems to be related to a number of conditions such as kayak phobia, hermiting behaviour and *qivitoq* (ghost person). It was referred to by the name *pibloktoq* by Mrs. Josephine Peary in 1893, although, as early as 1856, Kane's expedition recognized an "anomalous spasmodic disorder allied to tetanus" (Wallace 1960). Kane also referred to a strange epilepto-tetanoidal disease which affected both humans and animals. Sled dogs were described as running wildly, snapping, howling as if in fear, diving into the ocean and undergoing convulsive seizures. This evidence that *pibloktoq* is not confined to humans is parallelled by a number of accusations that animals were afflicted by witchcraft in Salem as well.

Pibloktoq is also divided into several stages which in severe cases may occur as periodic episodes.

Initial Stage

- Individual is withdrawn and quiet;
- does not respond to questions and avoids the light;

Attack Stage

- Victims scream, sing incoherently, mimic animal sounds;

- are violent, overturn furniture, destroy food and clothes;
- carpopedal seizures;
- tear off clothes, run outside, shout at pursuers, throw things;
- seem unaware of own safety;
- spasms of the throat, face and other muscles;
- very strong, requiring several people to hold them down.

In general the people are oblivious to their surroundings, strongly agitated, feverish, talk quickly, and seek things that are hard to get.

Terminal Stage

- Individual is exhausted, flushed, convulsions, drops into sleep or recovers.

Recovery

- seems complete, no memory for incident.

This marked resemblance in the symptomology of the two conditions appears to have first been noted by Dall in 1870 (Foulks 1972) who described Arctic hysteria among Athabascan Indians in Alaska as follows:

> The patient fell in a sort of convulsion, struggled violently, appearing unconscious, tearing the clothing and breaking everything within reach. There were no symptoms of any disease and the fits were epidemic, seizing one after another at short intervals. The cases resembled the descriptions of those who in ancient times were supposed to be bewitched, and also some of those appearances which have accompanied cases of semi-religious mania in Europe in modern times. (Foulks 1972:11)

Arctic hysteria was just in the process of being recognized as a cohesive set of symptoms in the 1870s when Dall made his observations. This is one reason why I feel that the set of symptoms in the first list was not recognized as a natural phenomenon in the 17th century. As Dall realized, the major characteristics of these two conditions are very similar. These include screaming, disordered talking, animal mimicry, convulsive fits in which several adults are required to hold one individual, carpopedal seizures, episodes of rigidity, followed by extreme limberness, and violent disruptive behaviour, as well as the episodic nature of the affliction.

In addition to the list of symptoms common to both afflictions, there are a number of other similarities between the two conditions. Probably the most notable is that both conditions occur with much higher frequency in women and in girls around the age of menarche than in men. Foulks (1972) estimates that the sex ratio of affliction in Arctic hysteria is about 10 women to 4 men. This is supported by observations of Haggaard (1941 in Wallace and Akerman 1960) who studied the phenomenon in Greenland and Peary (1981) who was one of the first to report it. In the case of witchcraft afflic-

tion, by far the largest number of individuals afflicted were adolescent girls, although some boys and married women also reported torments at a later stage of the outbreak. The second point is that although many violent acts are attempted by those in the throes of a seizure, only property damage actually occurs (Gussow 1960). Individuals who attempt to throw themselves in the ocean, or the fire, or to kill other people, are thwarted and do not succeed in causing severe physical damage to themselves or others. Thirdly, the afflictions only occur during a short period of the year, from late October until about the end of February, in other words, during the most severe and darkest part of the winter. Another similarity is the fact that both Arctic hysteria and the hysterias claimed to be spirit possession have been attributed to a variety of causes in addition to hypocalcemia. Aberle (1952) and others (e.g., Parker 1962) have suggested a psychopathological problem in a number of populations which produces an affective disorder involving hysteria and involuntary behaviours. These scholars relate the incidence of such disorders to social conditions such as female role disadvantages, cultural factors such as rearing practices and individual problems such as wife abuse. The argument is that the condition of hysteria occurs because individuals have not learned techniques of delaying satisfaction, and respond to frustration and anxiety by hysteria. This approach to cultural hysterias draws its data from a very wide range of cultures, but its very breadth reduces the degree of similarity shown between the various conditions. Parker (1962) in fact draws a clear distinction between the situation among the Polar Eskimo and Ojibwa, arguing that the relevant cultural aspects are antithetical so that the types of "wild" behaviours shown in both cultures (Windigo and Arctic hysteria) must have differing psycho-cultural causes. Chronic middle ear infection has been suggested as a cause of uncontrolled behaviours, but the regular patterning of symptom onset seen in *Pibloktoq* argues for a more regular physiological cause. Also, the frequency of onset and apparent post-seizure normality of the victims seems to argue against a chronic condition such as middle ear infection. Foulks (1972), on the other hand, who studied the phenomenon of Arctic hysteria in Alaska in 1968, feels that it may have a consortium of causes including birth trauma, chronic middle ear disease and central nervous system pathology. However, he concludes that a combination of low levels of calcium ions and vitamin D, coupled with the stresses caused by alterations of the circadian and circannual rhythms due to the long arctic night, is the probable cause. He tested the serum calcium levels of those who had seizures, but usually after a delay of 24 hours (Kehoe and Giletti 1981) which may have allowed the level to readjust somewhat. Even so he found the serum calcium levels to be at the low end of the normal range for the 10 individuals he tested (Foulks 1972).

However, the Inuit diet in 1968 was probably much more vitamin and mineral enriched because of the consumption of processed food than that found in earlier times. This may correlate with the lessening frequency of *pibloktoq*. Foulks only discovered 10 cases during the winter of 1968, whereas Admiral Peary in the 1890s sometimes saw 5 cases a day, and considered it to run in epidemics. An analysis of the Eskimo diet of 1855 by Harrison et al. (1964) indicates that calcium levels at that time would have been 54 percent of the required nutritional intake, or about 5.4 mg percent, which is very low. Normal calcium levels are about 10 mg percent. Hypocalcemia is diagnosed at 9 mg percent, is acute at a serum calcium level of 6 mg percent, and a level of 4 mg percent is lethal (Guyton 1977). Thus a state of low dietary calcium and lack of sunlight was certainly present in the individuals Peary noted as exhibiting this behavioural disturbance.

Hypocalcemic Physiology

The main source of calcium necessary for growth and physiologic function is diet, although once calcium is ingested many factors affect whether it is usable by the body. In addition to varying levels of calcium content in ingested foods, the degree of usability is affected by other food eaten at the same time, which can affect its uptake. Cereal grains contain phytate, and many other plants have oxalates, both of which combine with calcium to form non-absorbable compounds (Katz and Foulks 1970). A diet highly dependent upon fish provides elevated phosphate levels which are inversely correlated with the rate of calcium uptake because phosphorus and calcium ions combine to form an insoluble precipitate (Guyton 1977). Also high phosphorus intake causes calcium to be removed from blood plasma and excreted in the feces (Draper 1985). Animal fat as a source of vitamin D may help to buffer problems in maintaining calcium level. Meat protein, on the other hand, has a very complex effect. At very high or low levels it increases the urinary output of calcium which increases the loss of the ion (Linkswiler 1981). This was long considered to be balanced by an increase in intestinal absorption caused by protein, but the increase in absorption is more than offset by increased loss in the urine (Yuen at al. 1984). Thus, the optimal conditions for a sufficient intake of usable calcium include a diet containing milk and cheese and leafy vegetables which are the major calcium sources, sunlight, animal fat and fresh vegetables to produce vitamin D, and a healthy parathyroid gland.

Low levels of serum calcium can result from a combination of factors in addition to the levels of calcium provided in diet. Vitamin C provides a calcifiable matrix, vitamin A organizes the continuous reshaping of bone and vitamin D controls the process of calcification by affecting the transforma-

tion of calcium ions to a form which can be absorbed by the digestive tract and therefore must be present in adequate amounts (Huss-Ashmore et al. 1982). The actual amount of available calcium is related to dietary intake, absorption and excretion through urine and kidneys, such that under normal circumstances about 25 percent of the daily input is retained (Schroeder et al. 1985). Less than 1 percent of the total body calcium is in solution in body fluids and a few millimoles of calcium lost or gained from the extracellular fluid (E.C.F.) pool of calcium may be critical to survival (Schroeder et al. 1985).

Hypocalcemia affects neuromuscular function to produce muscle cramps, tetony, convulsions and other symptoms. "Along with other cations (especially K^+ and Mg^{2+}) calcium exerts an important effect on cell membrane potential and permeability manifested prominently in neuromuscular function. It plays a central role in muscle contraction" (Schroeder et al. 1985:596). Sodium, potassium, calcium and magnesium are essential for adequate electrophysiological function: "Deficiencies of excesses of these elements can result in severe neuropsychological abnormalities" (Sandstead 1986:37). Due to the close interrelationship between cations, hypocalcemia may be due to loss of available potassium. It may shift to the internal cell fluid, which can cause periodic paralysis, weakness, tetony and cardiac arhythmias. If phosphate concentrations in the E.C.F. rises, then corresponding calcium concentrations will fall. The levels of calcium are mainly regulated by the parathyroid hormone which acts to release calcium and phosphate from the bone in the presence of vitamin D. Calcitonin, which is a peptide hormone secreted by the parafollicular cells of the thyroid gland, reduces E.C.F. levels of calcium by reducing the release of calcium from bone. If the calcium levels become low, serum Mg^{2+} is commonly low and this hypomagnesia reduces tissue responsiveness to parathyroid hormone (Schroeder et al. 1985), thus interfering with calcium release from bone. Under circumstances of normal calcium levels these variations are buffered by internal mechanisms, but tetony can occur without a measured fall in total serum calcium if a sudden rise in pH level occurs, thus suddenly increasing the degree to which calcium is bound to proteins.

One very common cause of a rise in pH level is hyperventilation. In situations of hyperventilation, frequently caused by anxiety (Schroeder et al. 1985), respiratory alkalosis often results and renal compensation by the excretion of HCO_3 is too slow to be effective. The arterial blood pH is elevated and the pressure of carbon dioxide (PCO_2) is low. The extent to which protein is bound to calcium is very dependent on pH levels. At a high pH, a state of alkalosis is present which results in more calcium being bound to protein, and not free as ions. In fact, hypocalcemia can occur in alkalotic patients whose total plasma calcium is normal (Smith 1980), indicat-

ing that alkalosis can have a very intense effect. This may also occur if bicarbonate levels are increased too rapidly. Thus, hyperventilation due to an acute state of anxiety, which results in respiratory alkalosis can affect calcium ion levels sufficiently to cause partial paralysis, tetony and convulsions through the influence of unstable calcium levels on the functioning of the neuromuscular system. Katz and Foulks (1970) recognized that episodes of Arctic hysteria might be precipitated by hyperventilation. Other physiological effects of low calcium include an increase in the critical membrane potential of the nerves allowing unimpeded passage of nervous impulses. This can cause severe epileptoid convulsions and uncontrolled vocalizations and also adversely affect memory.

Many internal metabolic processes are under the influence of circadian rhythms and cycle in accordance with the body's requirements even when an individual is kept in darkness. Calcium rhythms indoors or in dark conditions, however, become free running and can get out of synchronicity with the potassium and sodium levels required to maintain nervous stability. This disruption to stability is also influenced by the loss of circadian periodicity in adrenal hormones and in urine calcium content. Urine and feces are major regulators of calcium levels. The urinary excretion of calcium can become free running although potassium excretion is maintained on a 24-hr. cycle. To summarize, causes of low plasma levels of ionized calcium include:

1. dietary effects, direct and indirect;
2. vitamin D deficiency;
3. parathyroid hormone deficiency;
4. alkalosis, which increases the protein binding of calcium (and can be due to hyperventilation);
5. a breakdown of circadian periodicity, which can allow excretion cycles of various cations to become misaligned, with deleterious effects on internal chemical balance.

Thus in a situation of low sunlight, little milk or fresh vegetables, a grain diet supplemented with fish, cold weather and sudden stress, which may cause hyperventilation due to anxiety, a hypocalcemic crisis could readily be precipitated.

Part II – Situation in Salem

Turning to the situation at Salem Village in the winter of 1691-92, we see that such conditions may easily have prevailed in certain circumstances. The young women who were first to be affected ranged in age from about 10 to 20 years old. Most of them were bound servants while Betty Parris and Ann Putnam were living in their parental homes. It does not seem to be

recorded exactly when in December/January 1691-92 that Betty Parris began to exhibit the strange behaviours of crawling into holes and under furniture, making peculiar noises and twisting her body about. She was one of a group of 10 young women who spent some evenings that winter talking with Titubita a slave from the West Indies who belonged to Reverend Parris, Betty's father. Quite possibly Titubita believed herself to be a witch or at least to have some occult powers. She apparently told the girls stories of voodoo, magic and witchcraft and may have taught them some techniques of divination. Shortly after Betty manifested these strange behaviours the other nine young women began to show the same symptoms of convulsion, twisting and making strange noises. Reverend Parris, whose house was the initial focus of the activity, started to write an account of it a few weeks after it began. He also preached sermons about the evils of witchcraft and the horrors of being possessed by the devil. Puritan religion specifically taught that humans were all creatures of sin and would go to Hell when they died unless they had been singled out by God as one of his elect (Miller 1954). Abigail and Betty, who lived in the Parris household, as well as the others who heard him preach every Sunday, were well aware that listening to Titubita's stories of witchcraft and magic was a very dangerous activity which might result in damnation and eternal hellfire for their souls. If they did practise any divination it would have been with great trepidation, and if Titubita's West Indian background had enabled her to perform some magical revelations the young women would have been in very high states of anxiety. Parris (in Boyer and Nissenbaum 1974, and Brown 1984) refers to the vision of a coffin which the group appears to have conjured up as part of a divination, and this seems to have precipitated the initial attacks.

Since divination was the Devil's work, the threat of death, which a vision of a coffin represented, would under these circumstances have been terrifying. The shock of such a threatening vision could have caused the hyperventilation necessary to trigger a hypocalcemic episode, especially if serum calcium levels were already low. Even though only one person was initially affected, the anxiety levels in the others would undoubtedly be raised by her condition and could explain the "domino effect" whereby they all succumbed to similar influences. Once the victims had begun this type of behaviour, other factors could have intervened to promote its continuation because of the ensuing social benefits (Hansen 1969). If serum calcium levels remained low during the winter, the afflicted would undoubtedly discover that hyperventilation could quickly bring on an attack. Thus the intense fits that occurred when they were faced with the women they accused of bewitching them could have either been involuntary, brought on by anxious hyperventilation, or intentionally caused by the same means, but would still reflect an underlying physiological malfunction. These attacks were

amazing in their violence, and those who saw them repeatedly stated that the convulsions were much more severe than they had seen in illness or epilepsy. The attacks were also quite frequent, and initially the young women did not have any explanations for why they behaved in this way. They did not accuse anyone of witchcraft until they had been repeatedly questioned over a period of weeks by a panel of ministers, who eventually asked them "Who afflicts you?" (Brown 1984:9). The episode of feeding a dog with a cake made of rye meal and the girl's urine as a way of ascertaining who was responsible for their afflictions marked the beginning of their ability to respond to the question. To many it seemed evident that, if an act of witchcraft like this enabled the girls to speak, then witchcraft must be at the foundation of their afflictions. The minister rebuked Mrs. Sibley (who was responsible for the cake) for "using the Devil's methods to find out the Devil" (Upham, in Mappen 1980:48). However, the minister and doctors now firmly believed that witches were involved and repeated their questioning to elicit names of people to accuse. It was at this point early in March, nearly two months after the initial problems began, that the young women began accusing their fellow villagers of bewitching them by afflicting them with "fits." Their accusations first resulted in three older women, including Titubita, being charged as witches. As their afflictions continued others claimed that they too had been bewitched and began to exhibit the symptoms of convulsion. The accused witches named others as guilty of witchcraft, and the snowball of increasing numbers of afflicted and accused continued until October of that year. By the time Governor Phips forbade more executions 20 people had been killed and two had died in prison. It seems clear that accusations were being laid on a personal and political basis by the end of this period. Whether any of those who subsequently claimed to be afflicted by witchcraft were affected by a combination of low calcium levels and hysterical anxiety, or whether their activities were the result of malice and opportunity or a desire to save themselves from accusation is totally unclear. That is why this discussion is confined to the first set of people who exhibited these symptoms. Since actual serum calcium levels for these afflicted young women cannot be ascertained, I will examine various factors that influence them. Calcium is a very important aspect of human physiology, which fluctuates according to a number of factors outlined above. Of these I have chosen diet including calcium and vitamin D levels, light levels, activity patterns, sex and age as relevant features to examine. Calcium interrelationships with other elements such as sodium, potassium and magnesium is also important, but has only briefly been covered. Conditions of marginal calcium intake, low light levels, restricted activity and reduced vitamin D in young women would combine in a synergistic fashion to depress the body's ability to utilize what calcium was available. This indi-

rect approach to the study of population calcium levels is made necessary by the lack of direct skeletal evidence.

Diet

The food preferences of 17th-century colonists combined with the difficulties of producing certain crops meant that in the yearly dietary cycle the winter was a period of low calcium intake, especially for the less wealthy. Many families of moderate to low income ate a fairly standard diet of maize and rye bread, pease porridge and salt meat when it was available. Although wheat was grown, it was a cash crop and seldom eaten except on special occasions: "wheat, which was a money crop was too valuable to eat" (Rutman 1968:45). Gardens were begun in the Salem area about 1634, but they were not common. The most frequently grown vegetables were leeks, turnips, onions, cabbages and parsnip. Garden products were made into "green sauce" in the summer and some root vegetables were stored in the autumn. However, McMahon notes that "the winter vegetable supply in Seventeenth Century households consisted almost entirely of dried pease" (1985:39). Indian vegetables such as beans and pumpkins were field crops sown with the corn. "With stewed pumpkins and bean or pea porridge, Indian meal or samp was the staple article of diet" (Bidwell and Falconer 1941:10). Thus the green leafy vegetables which provide calcium were lacking from the winter diet of stored and dried foods.

Meat was not rare in 17th-century New England, but poorer people did not have large supplies. The meat that was available for winter consumption was salted after the fall slaughtering of a swine or a beef. Animals were smaller in the New England colonies than in Europe or in modern times, and swine dressed at about 200 pounds (Russell 1976). Meat seems to have been consumed on a yearly cycle; fairly large amounts were eaten at slaughtering time and then the remainder was salted and eaten until the supply ran out. Since preservation was a problem the meat was not kept for more than a few months. Salt meat was considered a dietary staple, but the supply was usually consumed rapidly and was exhausted by early spring. The high levels of salt used may have interfered with the calcium, sodium, potassium equilibrium which is required to maintain stability of the nervous system. In times of high rate of consumption the levels of protein and phosphate in the meat may have been sufficient to increase urinary excretion of calcium. For those families with low supplies of meat the lack of protein would materially affect the transportation and utilization of vitamin A and calcium (Huss-Ashmore et al. 1982).

Fish and game were available to the settlers but in the early years "a prejudice against a fish and game diet prevented the colonists making use of the wild food until actually starved into it" (Bidwell and Falconer 1941:6). Fish in particular has high phosphate levels which are inversely correlated with calcium uptake as mentioned earlier. By the 1690s the low cost and ready availability of dried fish encouraged its use in poorer households but some types, particularly shad and salmon, were not considered socially acceptable. Salmon is one of the few fish with an appreciable calcium content (Harrison et al. 1964).

Most families attempted to keep a milk cow which provided a limited quantity of dairy products during the summer. In spite of Spanos and Gotleib's (1976) assumption that cows were plentiful in Salem, they were small, and one gallon at a milking was considered average and two gallons was quite an exceptional yield (Rutman 1968). Butter and cheese were made, but homesteads with only one or two milk cows consumed it as it was produced (McMahon 1985). After September or October the native grasses did not provide enough nutrients to keep the cows producing milk. English grasses such as clover were imported and planted, but experiments of this nature were still remarked upon as late as 1685 (Bidwell and Falconer 1941). Most of the livestock did not have winter shelter or feed, although the milk cows were sometimes fed a little hay. Thus, due to low levels of nutrition in the cattle, milk products were not readily available in winter. To replace milk as a beverage, colonists turned to fermented drinks such as beer and cider. Beer was the preferred drink until the early 1700s, but the effort of growing barley was much greater than the work required to produce apples, and orchards became very common. Large quantities of cider were made and served to replace milk in winter, even for very young children (Earle 1899).

Table 1 lists foods which are high in calcium and those high in phosphorus which has an antagonistic effect on calcium absorption. The calcium-rich foods are among those which might have been present in Salem in summer months, but were unavailable in winter, whereas the phosphorus-rich ones were much more likely candidates for winter consumption in 17th-century New England. Peas, rye, corn and pumpkin were staple foods while the fish and meat listed are all very high in phosphorus content. Thus, the winter diet, heavy in grains which inhibit the absorption of calcium ions, and lacking in fresh vegetables, greens and milk products, would probably not have provided satisfactory levels of calcium. The reliance on salt meat for those who had meat would not have improved the condition (Fremes and Sabry 1976). Fish, which was used to supplement meat in the New Eng-

land colonies, was a negative factor in maintaining an adequate calcium balance.

Table 1
List of Common Foods in Terms of Calcium/Phosphorus Content

High Calcium			High Phosphorus		
Food	Ca (mg)	P (mg)	Food	Ca (mg)	P (mg)
Milk (whole)	288	227	Flounder	23	344
Cheddar Cheese	158	100	Tuna	13	374
Beans (green, 1 cup)	81	50	Lamb Chops (1 lb.)	24	429
Lettuce (1 cup)	19	14	Ham (3 oz.)	9	201
Spinach (1 cup)	242	53	Pork Chops (1 lb.)	28	624
			Beef Liver	9	405
			Beef Steak (1 lb.)	24	490
			Rye Bread (1 sl.)	19	37
			Corn (1 cob)	2	69
			Popcorn	1	19
			Peas (1 cup)	30	138
			Winter Squash	57	98
			Pumpkin Pie (1 sl.)	58	79
			Potatoes (1 cup)	50	103

Source: Figures taken from Avioli (1981).

Light Levels

Problems arising from low dietary levels of calcium were undoubtedly compounded by low levels of light. The value of sunshine and cod liver oil in maintaining health was not discovered until the 19th century (Huss-Ashmore et al. 1982). Sunlight changes precursor molecules in the skin to vitamin D which is a necessary component for the utilization of calcium ions. The effect of lack of sunlight on an otherwise healthy population is clearly demonstrated in a study by Neer and Wurtman (Wurtman 1975). Healthy pension-age males living in Boston remained indoors during daylight hours under fluorescent lighting from the beginning of winter to the end of March. By mid-February, after seven weeks, all of the subjects were only absorbing 40 percent of the calcium that they normally would. One group of subjects were then exposed to artificial natural spectrum light, giving the equivalent of a 15 minute noontime summer exposure. Four weeks later the subjects who were not exposed to natural spectrum lighting were down to a 30 percent calcium absorption rate. The subjects who were exposed to the equivalent of sunlight had increased their calcium absorption rate to nearly 50 per-

cent of available calcium. This study indicates that both the quantity and the spectrum frequency of light is important in affecting vitamin D synthesis and calcium utilization.

The light sources in 17th-century homes in Massachusetts were far less efficient than the levels of indoor illumination experienced even by the confined subjects in the Boston study. "Diamond-pane casement windows were common after 1640 replacing oil paper, but they admitted little sunlight and, indeed, were normally covered with fabric in the winter to preserve warmth" (Rutman 1968:31). Wooden shutters were also commonly used to cover window openings in winter to retain warmth. Most of the interior light came from candlewood or pitchpine, with real candles being very expensive at four pence apiece (Earle 1898), and rarely used in less wealthy homes. Another architectural factor was the building style in which upper stories of houses overhung lower ones in order to hold the beams for the upper floors securely in place. This overhang reduced the amount of direct light coming into ground floor windows where kitchens were located. Windows were neither large nor numerous in kitchens, as can be ascertained from remaining houses of the period in Danvers and Salem.

Activity Patterns

These low light levels indoors would have affected girls and women more than boys and men due to their activity patterns. The tasks performed by girls, whether they were daughters or bound servants, would have kept them working industriously indoors. Much of the time was spent pounding corn in a mortar, hatchelling flax, spinning, weaving and performing other household tasks. This indoor location would have affected vitamin D levels, due to restricted exposure to sunlight. Low vitamin D levels suppress the absorption and utilization of calcium which would exacerbate the effect of a low calcium diet. In the absence of a daily sunlight/dark cycle the circadian rhythmicity of calcium levels is altered to such an extent that synchronicity with sodium and potassium levels is lost. Calcium becomes an insoluble compound under these conditions and is excreted in urine and feces. Thus levels of this element could become severely unbalanced in relation to other minerals. Boys spent more time outside doing male chores such as caring for cattle, building fences and cutting wood. The time spent outdoors would increase their exposure to sunlight, and the difference would be particularly noticeable in the winter.

It is not unreasonable to assume that the young women of Salem village were kept busy since the amount of labour required to keep a family fed and clothed "with only hoe, scythe, sickle and spinning wheel for tools required . . . continuous labour for the whole family through all the daylight

hours'' (Russell 1976:99). Children were expected to become producing members of the household at a very early age and were often accomplished knitters by the age of four (Earle 1898).

It was not uncommon for a family to bind their children to a neighbour or relatives as indentured servants. In fact most of the afflicted girls who were bound servants had relatives in Salem village or nearby communities. The need for labour was so great that in some cases children were kidnapped in England and sent to the colonies as indentured servants. Adults also paid for their passage to the New World by binding themselves to work for a specific time period. Children were frequently bound for a period of 14 years for a total payment of their keep, two suits of clothes, a cow and a horse (Demos 1972). It was considered permissible to beat servants with a stick or whip, although, if it was for more than 10 lashes a time, the court executed the punishment (Earle 1899). Men, women and children were subject to beatings, and it was not until 1705 that the whipping of naked white servants was forbidden in Virginia (Eggleston 1972). Masters used thumbscrews, sweatings and a scant diet of Indian meal to keep servants in line. There is only one record of a child being killed by this treatment, but they were often ill-fed and ill-clothed as well, as some of their written complaints and petitions attest (Eggleston 1972). The pattern of daily activity centred around work, and for girls much of that was indoors.

Dietary patterns for children are not easy to assess but among adults there was some distinction between the diets of men and women, and this may have been the case for male and female children and servants as well. In addition males do not undergo the cyclical hormonal changes of menses, which may also affect the course of a nutritional disorder. Bound servants ate after the family and, according to their complaints, frequently were hungry. John Proctor, the owner of Mary Warren, one of the afflicted girls, said he kept her close to her wheel (for spinning) and promised to beat her sorely if she left it (Hansen 1969). Another afflicted girl, Elizabeth Hubbard, was a bound servant in the house of her uncle, Dr. Griggs. Doctor Griggs was the person who pronounced that the girls were suffering from witchcraft. Little is known about Elizabeth's condition, except that one can postulate that the doctor had ample opportunity to study this strange phenomenon.

Part III – History of Affliction

These commonly found conditions of diet, light level and work load for servants and children were certainly present in Salem village at the time period in question. The dietary situation in the Parris household may have been particularly severe for Betty Parris and her cousin, Abigail Williams, since Samuel Parris was the village minister, and thus did not farm. He had been

promised payment of money, food and firewood for his ministerial services, but had so fallen out with much of the congregation that he did not receive any pay for some months (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1972). Several times during October 1691 he had no firewood and had to demand some from those who would provide it. In addition, ministers' households were frequently frugal in the matter of food with bread and milk often providing breakfast, and sometimes supper as well (Earle 1898:148). This may have been adequate in summer, but in winter there would be little or no milk, and cider was usually substituted, with probable nutritional consequences.

There was also some level of hardship in Thomas Putnam's household where Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcott lived. Although Thomas Putnam had a wealthy father, his patrimony was severely reduced by his father's second marriage. Land which had been ample for three families was now shared among eleven (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1972, 1974). The family was considered to belong to the better class of villagers, but they were hard pressed to keep up their position. One of the results of accusations made by Ann Putnam and her mother was the hanging of Rebecca Nurse, whose family they felt had wronged them financially.

The other five individuals under consideration were all servants in various village households. The dietary conditions, activity patterns and light levels discussed above were undoubtedly integral parts of their everyday lives. It is notable that both Mary Warren and Sarah Churchill had reservations about accusing members of the families they worked for as witches, but did so because otherwise they ran the risk of being accused themselves. To me this indicates that they did not consider themselves to be badly treated by community standards, even though they may have succumbed to nutritional stress. It is also noticeable that these accusations did not occur until April and May, by which point social factors may have begun to manifest themselves, blurring the physiological causes of affliction.

Similar Afflictions

A point of comparison between this and other presumed cases concerns the fact that 1691 was an exceptionally snowy winter (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1974) which means that outdoor activity was probably curtailed even more than usual. Other episodes of witchcraft recorded in the 17th century also refer to the presence of extremely cold and snowy conditions. Several cases had occurred around Boston in the previous 40 years. Of these I would like to single out two for special mention because they have features which resemble those in the Salem cases very closely.

The first is the case of Elizabeth Knapp, also a bound servant, living in the home of Reverend Samuel Willard who kept an account of the course of

her malady from October 30, 1671 to January 15, 1672. The choking sensation in her throat was followed by "fits in which she was violent in bodily motions, leapings, straining and strange agitations, scarce to be held in bound by the strength of three or four; violent also in roarings and screamings" (from Willard's account in Hansen 1969). She also displayed symptoms including loss of speech, speaking in voices other than her own, barking like a dog and bleating like a calf. She was not physically debilitated by these fits but rather had her natural strength when her fits were not on her. Reverend Willard concluded that she was not affected by witchcraft, but rather that she was demon possessed. Legally speaking the difference was quite significant because, although Elizabeth attempted to accuse various people of bewitching her, no one was actually charged, and the incident remained an isolated one.

The next incident I would like to mention is the 1688 affliction of the Goodwin children. It started with the older girl – about age 13 – and eventually affected four of the six children. Their bodies were contorted into strange distended shapes, their eyes bulged and their mouths snapped open and shut. They shrieked uncontrollably and affected the postures of animals, crawling about the room, barking like dogs, bellowing like frightened cows, and tearing at their clothes (Demos 1982). They also exhibited frenetic energy "climb(ing) over high fences beyond their imagination of them that looked after them. . . . Fly(ing) like geese . . . having but just their toes now and then upon the ground and their arms waved like the wings of a bird" (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1974). They saw visions, indulged in foolish ridiculous speeches, fits, convulsive paroxysms and hysterical muscle spasms. When all this was finished they fell into a deep quiet sleep. The behaviour was most severe in Martha, the 13 year old, who was taken into Cotton Mather's home for several months before she finally recovered.

There are several features of these two accounts which tie them together and relate them to the Salem incidents. Both occurred in late fall, beginning in October and lasting into the winter. Indeed, in Elizabeth's Knapp's case it was noted that the snow was so deep that the ministers who were to pray with her sometimes could not get through. The treatment that was initially prescribed for all of these cases was prayer and fasting in order to exculpate any sins. If nutritional problems were at the root of this behaviour, fasting would contribute to the disorder. As in many Salem cases, these individuals attempted potentially destructive behaviour. Elizabeth attempted to throw herself in the fire, while others such as Mary Warren had tried to drown themselves in the well, and the Goodwin children scaled walls and fences.

This aspect corresponds very closely with one of the marked features of Arctic hysteria, which is the performance of remarkable feats of strength and endurance. These included episodes such as wading naked in the winter

ocean, rolling naked in the snow for up to 30 minutes at a time, running wildly across the sea ice and climbing incredible cliffs (Gussow 1960). In many cases the victims had to be rescued or restrained or they would have died from cold and exposure. On some occasions fits of violence occurred towards sled dogs, or children were attacked with knives, but no injuries were actually inflicted. These behaviours show a very marked similarity of intent, even though they differed in the means of attempted self-destruction. (Gussow [1960] commented that he interpreted the behaviour as the result of oblivion to dangerous environmental factors, rather than as deliberate danger seeking.) The aspect of visions, or hallucinations, is another marked concordance, as is the presence of animal calls and imitations. These are particularly noted, in cases of Arctic hysteria, by observers such as Peary who saw that victims crawled around barking like dogs, mimicking many animal noises (Peary in Gussow 1960).

After the Salem episode came the case of Mercy Short, a 17-year-old bound servant, who was afflicted from November 22, 1692 until March 16, 1693. Her behaviours are very similar to those already quoted, with the addition of a prolonged anorexia. She spent periods from seven to 15 days without eating, which might easily have increased the severity of her affliction. Boyer and Nissenbaum (1972) mention that she had at least one severe nose bleed during a seizure, and nosebleeds are a common symptom of calcium deficiency among the Inuit (Wallace 1960). She saw and heard spectres, went into rigid spasms and was strangely distorted in her joints. She also had periods of affliction that were not painful, where she frolicked about, becoming as "extravagant as a wild cat . . . (and) her speech excessively witty" (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1974:25). This type of behaviour compares closely with that recorded for Martha Goodwin whose frolics "lasted all day . . . she was in a state verging on ecstasy" (Mather in Boyer and Nissenbaum 1974:19). These types of frenzied, constantly talking, moving behaviour, are similar to those experienced by people in the throes of "spirit possession" as noted by Kehoe and Giletti (1981) in their discussion of the possible influence which nutritional deficiencies might have on possession states. They emphasize calcium deficiency and its synergistic relation to magnesium as cause for disordered behaviour, as well as the low dietary protein levels of women who live in societies where there are food restrictions, and who frequently eat after men. Women's dress may also have an effect, since there are many cultures in which women must be completely covered with clothes, which reduces their ability to synthesize vitamin D through the effect of ultraviolet light on the skin.

Thus evidence from a number of sources suggests that calcium deficiencies are certainly capable of causing the types of behaviour seen in the "witchcraft" afflictions experienced in Salem and other New England

towns. The question then arises as to why only certain individuals were affected. This is a difficult question to answer nearly 300 years later. It would be necessary to know what the particular activity patterns of those young women were, and whether they varied from those common to the rest of the population. Another important factor would be the particular diets and food preferences of those households, and how they might differ from the rest of the community. Moreover, the efficiency with which calcium is metabolized differs among individuals and would be impossible to determine for those long dead. If skeletal material becomes available for individuals from this region in the relevant time period some general indications of dietary stresses may be recovered from chemical analysis of bone and this would provide potential positive or negative evidence bearing on the question of dietary deficiencies in this population. However, as noted earlier, the levels of calcium low enough to produce behavioural effects may be quite transitory, and may also occur due to acute alkalosis in patients whose plasma calcium is normal.

Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to indicate that the symptoms displayed by those young women who claimed that they were afflicted by witchcraft are very similar to the symptoms of a clinical condition which was not recognized in the 17th century. This syndrome, known as *pibloktoq* or Arctic hysteria, is not yet well understood, but appears to derive at least in part from periodic episodes of severe hypocalcemia. Among the causes of low serum calcium levels are low levels of dietary calcium, low levels of vitamin D which is required to metabolize calcium, compounded by low levels of exposure to sunlight, the effects of other elements and poor parathyroid activity. The dietary situation and light exposure of New England colonists can be discovered from contemporary texts and appear to match the conditions which might lead to problems in maintaining calcium levels. Why these young women in particular were singled out to succumb to convulsions may have been related to their ages, sex, activity levels, reasons for high anxiety and personal metabolic idiosyncrasy. They were not the only individuals so afflicted in the surrounding community. In addition to the cases mentioned previously other people and some animals had suffered from fits during the decades surrounding the outbreak. Elizabeth Howell who had just given birth at the beginning of a hard winter had claimed she was bewitched in 1658, but was not believed. Mappen (1980) comments that some people had actually died from their fits, after being disjointed, distorted, scratched and bitten, running out of their chambers and across the fields. As the evidence indicating the presence of witchcraft mounted in the Salem community,

more and more people were afflicted with fits until a total of 34 people claimed to have suffered from them (Spanos and Gottlieb 1976). As mentioned previously, hyperventilation, which is a frequent symptom of anxiety, can trigger a hypocalcemic episode by changing the pH level of the blood sufficiently that the calcium ions are bound to protein and not available for metabolic functions. Rising levels of anxiety in the village may easily have shifted some individuals with subclinical problems over the brink into seizures. Others may have had better diets or been constitutionally less vulnerable and were not afflicted.

This evidence seems to indicate that the explanation of calcium deficiency in cases of "witchcraft affliction" is a possible one, in a situation in which we have at least some background information about the participants. I am sure that this is not the total cause of the problems seen in 1692, especially since the accusations were not directed randomly, but rather began with the poorer and more vulnerable members of the village. Gradually, as the accused were hounded into confessions, they in turn suggested further names. The afflicted named both men and women of increasing social position and respectability, including a former minister of the church and several influential townspeople. At one point the Reverend Samuel Willard was accused, but the justices of the court refused to consider this seriously and reprimanded the accuser (Brown 1984). Thus, as Mappen (1980) and others agree, the later testimony of accusation and affliction is open to severe doubt concerning the genuineness of the accusations. However, I feel that there is enough evidence to suggest that the initial problems had some more deep-seated cause than malicious imposturing. The topic is a complex one, but nutritional and metabolic factors may well have played a role in causing behavioural manifestations which are still not clearly understood after a lapse of almost three centuries.

Note

1. The 10 young women I am referring to include Betty Parris, 9; Abigail Williams, 12; Elizabeth Booth, 16; Sarah Churchill, 20; Elizabeth Hubbard, 18; Mercy Lewis, 19; Ann Putnam, 12; Susannah Sheldon, 18; Mary Walcott, 16; and Mary Warren, 19 (Richardson 1983).

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PETER LEWIS PAUL: A TRIBUTE

Nicholas N. Smith

On August 25, 1989, all who had any interest in the Maliseet Indians suffered a great loss with the passing of Peter Lewis Paul.

Peter was born on the small Woodstock Reserve. Both Pete's mother and grandmother were expecting at the same time. His mother died in childbirth; a twin brother and his grandmother's baby were stillborn. Peter's father was working in a lumber camp. He was brought up by his grandparents when his mother died and his father left the Reserve.

Pete's grandfather Noel Paul, born about 1850, was the village elder and head man. Noel's lifestyle was similar to that of his father; he was one of the last of the old hunters spending much time in his Maquapit hunting territory. During these years Peter absorbed much Maliseet lore from his grandparents. The stories and traditions of the early 1800s became a part of his daily life. He attended the poor Reserve school for several years. School was not held if it rained or snowed; each year seemed to be a duplication of the previous one. Pete claimed that he had little command of English until he was almost 30. Maliseet traditions taught informally by the elders, who spoke little English, made a greater impression on the children than did their school education. If problems arose relating to their White neighbours, Noel was always contacted. Bush camp training taught Pete to listen. Years later he recalled in vivid detail many events that took place in the early 1900s concerning his people. These early years provided Peter with the background knowledge of a decaying culture.

Peter's childhood was a contrast between carefree days and chores such as cutting firewood and muskrat hunting. There were no labour saving devices.

In 1928 Peter married Minnie Dedham, a granddaughter of Chief Gabe Atwin. They had nine children: Rowena, Donna, Carol, Diana, Wanda, Reggie, Bobbie, Billy and Darryl. Peter was convinced that education was the key to the future and gave the children the best possible education, but regretted that they lost their native language. Several times Peter brought Indian boys home, providing food, shelter and guidance. Peter was a model of love and devotion to his family.

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Edwin Tappin Adney made periodic visits to the Reserve, walking the five miles there from his Upper Woodstock home. The old men gathered around him and attempted to answer his questions. Pete, in his early 20s, stood at the edge of the circle listening, but in respect to the elders let them respond to the questions. Once there was no response; Pete spoke up. Adney asked how he knew the answer. Pete replied that he learned it from his grandfather. From that point on Adney found Peter a reliable informant, and met with him at least once a week either at the Reserve or at Adney's home. Peter developped expertise in the areas of linguistics and ethnohistory during this fine relationship that lasted about 25 years. Each needed the other.

Pete and Minnie cared for Adney in his last illness. When Adney died, there was a void in Pete's life as there was no one to take his place.

Dr. George Frederick Clarke who was beginning to write about New Brunswick history and Maliseet life became a very good friend. He had a camp that bordered Noel's Maquapit hunting grounds and found that his camping experiences were greatly enriched by his Indian neighbours. Clarke needed Peter, who was always welcome at Clarke's home, to discuss Maliseet lore, or in his campsite, as a skillful craftsman to repair birchbark canoes, old baskets and other antiques.

Pete had collected many examples of early Maliseet handicraft, but lost them in a disastrous fire that destroyed his home. The government provided no insurance for reserve housing; the people knew nothing about renters' insurance. Peter was over 50 when this disaster befell him and he had to start all over again. Peter had seen an old house not far away that was to be demolished. He asked Indian Affairs if he could have it. While he waited for a bureaucratic decision, he moved into an old shed, adding electricity and insulation. The wait was long and involved several trips to Ottawa. He finally won and had the first house with a flush toilet on the reserve.

This was not the first time he had to start over. A much younger Pete wanted to make baskets, using basket-making machines. He entered into a partnership with a Woodstocker. The partner sold the business without consulting Peter, who lost everything and had no recourse, because federal law did not permit Indians to borrow money or enter into contracts. Several years later Peter lost the ends of several fingers in an accident. In spite of all these reverses, he laboured indefatigably in order to pay off his debts. He found that repairing potato barrels was a good seasonal trade. About 1950 he observed that trucks came from as far as Virginia to New Brunswick for Christmas trees. He loaded his truck with trees and set off for the Boston market, making several trips a season. He was the first on his reserve to decorate an outdoor tree with lights.

Indians firmly believed that early treaties made in the 18th century, guaranteeing Indians "free liberty of hunting, fishing, fowling and all other lawful liberties and privileges," gave them the right to cut basket ash anywhere. Brown ash was considered to be good only for baskets. Soon after Adney's death Pete was ordered to appear in court for cutting an ash on private property. Pete learned from Adney that old treaties were recognized in court. He also became impressed by Gandhi's passive resistance philosophy. Pete and Minnie agreed that Peter would fight even if it meant going to jail. Armed with treaties and abstracts of previous Indian cases based on these treaties, Peter faced an unprepared lawyer and judge. Peter remained cool under questioning. The case concluded in a draw. Although the judge tried to discourage Peter from cutting ash indiscriminately, Peter interpreted his "not guilty" verdict as meaning that he could continue to cut ash. Winning this case probably meant more to him than the many honours bestowed on him later because it was a landmark case which would benefit his people. Some years later Simon Paul and Patrick Tomer were arrested in Hodgdon, Maine, for cutting ash valued at $3.50. They called the reserve, explaining that they had been advised to plead "guilty" to cutting ash. Peter told them not to do so, and, armed with treaties, went to court and again upset unprepared lawyers. Ken Buckley of the "Bangor Daily News" called Peter for an interview. Peter showed Indians that they could win in the White world.

Peter had an amazing array of friends. Once when dining in a Fredericton restaurant, Peter introduced me to the Premier of New Brunswick who was at a nearby table and who addressed Paul cordially by his first name.

An old Edison player was needed for Mechling's cylinder recordings of Maliseet songs. Pete quickly obtained three. Night after night Peter played the cylinders until he knew the old songs by heart, wrote down the words and translated them into English. The cylinders were recorded on tape and played at other reserves bringing back memories of Mechling. Peter talked to the elders in their language; memories were stirred and other songs, long dormant, were remembered. Visitors were rare; hosts stayed up until nearly dawn reminiscing.

A list of all of Peter's achievements would be just as difficult to produce as would be a list of all the anthropologists who found their way to his door. Each year more came. The names of those who consulted him such as Tappan Adney, Karl Teeter, Ives Goddard, Tom McFeat, Vincent Ericksen, Gaby Pelletier, Andrea Bear and James Wherry sound like a Who's Who of Wabanakiasts. He had the ability to put all that he learned from childhood into a context that resulted in a better understanding of his culture. In 1970 the University of New Brunswick gave him an honorary Ph.D. He received many congratulatory cards and notes from the White community. Clarke

told a reporter that Peter Paul "commands the respect of all who know him," and that "he is a legend." The acknowledged expert on the traditions and culture of his people felt that he was becoming more like a White man!

Peter wanted to see museum Indian displays and visited the New Brunswick Museum, the Robert Abbe Museum, the Museum of the American Indian, the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. He repaired birch bark canoes and was consulted about the Maliseet at the New Brunswick Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Of the many memorable experiences I have had with Peter it is difficult to select one as being of greater import. They were all unique, such as the time when Peter Polchies was skinning several beaver. Paul asked if I had eaten beaver tail; my reply was negative. He said, "We'll try one." He found a stick, sharpened one end, thrust it through a tail and stuck the other end in the ground. Then he gathered some shavings and started a fire. A ring of young Indians who had not experienced bush life gathered around him.

Few people are honoured with the bestowal of an honorary doctorate and the Order of Canada, both representing recognition above and beyond the ordinary. These honours were testimonial evidence of acceptance and success in the white world; Peter was an exceptional and distinguished Maliseet ambassador to the Whites. Certainly one would be justly proud of such honours. His Woodstock Reserve, too, honoured Dr. Paul, presenting him with a plaque in a simple ceremony of honour and veneration. This act of recognition by his own people probably meant more to him than all the others. Although the white world acclaimed Dr. Paul a success, his Maliseet world and identity was always of first importance to him.

Dr. Peter Lewis Paul Memorial Fund

Dr. Peter Paul helped many student and professional anthropologists with their studies and special projects. His collections of Maliseet handicrafts, old photographs and other materials presented to museums and archives will provide much valuable information concerning the Maliseet for future generations.

As a means of perpetuating the efforts of Peter Paul to educate both anthropologists and his own people, the Peter Lewis Paul Memorial Fund has been established at the University of New Brunswick for the collection of materials concerning Maliseet Indians and to encourage the Maliseet Indians to study their history and culture. Donations to the fund will be gratefully accepted and can be sent to Dr. Vincent O. Ericksen, Department of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick, Fredricton, New Brunswick, Canada E3B 6E3.

FRANK MANNING: AN APPRECIATION

Andrew Lyons
Wilfrid Laurier University

Frank Manning (1944-90) was the author of seven books and numerous articles on play, organized sport, calypso and other forms of secular ritual in the Caribbean, beginning with *Black Clubs in Bermuda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press) in 1973 and ending with the posthumously published *Customs in Conflict* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press) which he co-edited with Jean-Marc Philibert, an editor of this journal.

A Bostonian who received a Ph.D. from North Carolina, Frank did fieldwork in the West Indies and taught at Memorial University and latterly at the University of Western Ontario where he was Professor and Director of the Centre for Social and Humanistic Studies. A student of James Peacock, Manning fell under the influence not only of his distinguished mentor but also that *magister ludorum*, Victor Turner. It is a sad and notable fact that so many of Turner's brilliant équipe, Eva Hunt, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, Barbara Myerhoff, Frank and Vic Turner himself, have been prematurely removed from our midst. The discipline of social anthropology is so much the poorer because of their loss, and so much the richer because of their contributions. To paraphrase Sidney Carter, "They were the dance but the dance goes on."

We first met Frank Manning on a tour bus which took us to Jaipur and Agra during the New Delhi I.C.A.E.S. in 1978. We became his friends immediately. During the next few years he visited us a number of times with his wife Gail in order to attend dinner-dances at the Caribbean Club in Kitchener or, alone, to lecture on calypso or cricket matches. In these talks he conveyed his boyish and contagious enthusiasm for Caribbean culture, and talked with warmth about the politicians, cricketers, calypso singers such as Gabby and ordinary West Indians whom he had befriended and with whose way of life he had so closely identified. He never let us forget that play and sport are a serious business, remarking that "the failure of art critics to appreciate the aesthetics of popular sport has been no less myopic

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than the failure of anthropologists to grasp its social importance'' (1981:616). For years he played a leading role in the Society for the Anthropological Study of Play.

When we took over *Anthropologica* at the end of 1988, Frank was, for a brief while, Associate Editor of the journal and, subsequently, a member of the Editorial Advisory Board. He was the source of much valuable advice and encouragement. In November 1989, he learned that a cancer which had been removed a couple of years previously had returned. He remained active until the spring of 1990, editing collections of essays, conducting research, including a brief return to the Caribbean, and visiting friends. His courage in the face of certain death was rare indeed. We shall miss him.

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Manning, Frank E.
1981 Celebrating Cricket: The Symbolic Construction of Caribbean Politics. American Ethnologist 8(3):616-632.

BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term
Bronislaw Malinowski
Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989. xxxiv + 315 pp. $42.50 (cloth), $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: John Barker
University of British Columbia

This is a reissue of the 1967 text with a new introduction by Raymond Firth. The *Diary* has, of course, been extensively appraised since it was first published (and Firth makes several cogent comments on the critical literature). This leaves the current reviewer little to do but to restate the book's contents and offer some opinion as to who might find it worth reading.

Malinowski never intended this personal document to be published—indeed, none of his colleagues knew of its existence until it was discovered following his death. Written mostly in Polish in several small notebooks, the surviving diary covers two periods: September 1914 to August 1915, when Malinowski conducted his initial fieldwork on Mailu Island in southern Papua, and October 1917 to July 1918, during his second and last expedition to the Trobriand Islands.

Except for a few retrospective passages, Malinowski wrote about his passing moods and interactions as he immediately experienced them. He noted, usually briefly, his movements around coastal Papua, his informants and the ethnographic subjects on which he was working. But he used his diary mostly as a place to reveal, and perhaps relieve, his anxieties and frustrations with his mother, fiancée, lovers, teachers, the various Europeans he met in Papua and native informants. This makes for a very egocentric, even egotistic, document that sheds little light on Malinowski's published work. Unless the reader is familiar with the intimate details of Malinowski's private life, much of the text will make little sense and hold little interest.

As noted by earlier reviewers, the *Diary* thus contains surprisingly little information about either Mailu or the Trobriand Islands, or even about Malinowski's fieldwork methods. Several readers, including Valetta Malinowski who arranged for its translation, have justified its publication in terms of what it reveals about Malinowski's personality. Malinowski's loneliness, obsession with distant relations back home and attraction to "trashy novels" are traits familiar to most experienced fieldworkers, as are his expressions of impatience with informants who missed interviews or gave weak testimonies. These revelations, especially the evidence that the master of fieldwork penned the occasional racist slur against the "natives," caused quite a stir in the anthropological world two decades ago. Today, when autobiographical accounts of fieldwork have become commonplace, Malinowski's private expressions of frustration seem neither surprising nor very revealing. More importantly, Malinowski wrote so little about his relations with individual Papuans in the *Diary* that we are not easily able to assess his intimate feelings about or interactions with informants and thus determine how these might

have affected his ethnographic insights. As a field autobiography, the *Diary* is simply inadequate.

To my mind, the *Diary* is more valuable for occasional tidbits of contextual information: comments on missionaries in lonely outposts, descriptions of the tastes and prejudices of colonial officers and European traders, clues about the adjustments of Papuans to colonial domination. The *Diary* is an archive. Like any archive, it contains gems of information—extended descriptions of natural scenes or decisive character sketches of figures who flit in and out of other historical accounts. And like any archive these gems are hidden in long and inconsequential or obscure passages. To dig out the gems, one has to know what one is looking for and one has to be patient.

Since it was first published, the *Diary* has been read primarily by Malinowski's biographers, interested in rounding out their study of the man, and by those who wish to challenge the Malinowski myth or to create their own version of that myth. I expect that this very individual and personal document will continue to appeal mostly to these limited audiences.

Societies at Peace: Anthropological Perspectives
Signe Howell and Roy Willis, eds.
London, England: Routledge, 1989. ix + 250 pp. $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Elliott Leyton
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Curiously, although most human beings yearn, perhaps above all else, for peace (both internal and societal), social scientists have granted it scant attention. Might this tell us something we would prefer not to know about social scientists as human beings? In any case, there is only a tiny anthropological literature on peaceable societies. Indeed, *Societies At Peace* is the first major collection on the subject since Montagu's landmark *Learning Non-Aggression* (Oxford University Press, 1978)—and that earlier book, while first-rate anthropology, drew heavily upon psychological analysis and insufficiently emphasized the role of structural and cultural forces in the eradication of violence.

This important and timely book tries to fill that gaping hole in our understanding. Its editors and publisher are to be congratulated for bringing to light this provocative manuscript, which was originally the product of a 1986 conference at the University of Edinburgh on "Peace, Action, and the Concept of Self." The editors deploy the book's central argument in their "Introduction," proposing an alternative to the conventional view of aggression as "an innate human drive," and arguing that there is now enough evidence to treat *sociality* as an innate human quality. Indeed, they suggest that Western prejudices concerning the alleged primacy of aggressiveness "tell us more about Western society than about human nature" (p. 2).

The meat of the book lies in its dozen theoretical and ethnographic essays. The papers are somewhat uneven, and space considerations compel me to refer only to the most successful. Clayton Robarchek goes beyond Dentan's work to show how a particular blend of apparently contradictory qualities (dependence on the group and emphasis on individual autonomy) creates a non-violent milieu among the

Semai. Signe Howell looks at Chewong ideology's impact on internal emotional states, emphasizing the paradoxically positive role played by the culture's consistent arousal of fear. Thomas Gibson discusses the historico-cultural meaninglessness of violence among the Buid, where aggression "came to be identified symbolically with the agents of disease and death, while a state of internal tranquillity, equality and individual autonomy came to be identified with the agents of health and growth" (p. 76).

Colwyn Trevarthen and Katerina Logotheti explore, with exceptional skill, the biological and psychological basis for innate sociality among human infants. Joanna Overing shows how the Piaroa definition of manhood is not machismo but the nonsexist "ability to cooperate tranquilly with others in daily life" (p. 81). L.E.A. Howe stresses the role played in Bali's variably violent culture by membership in the differentiated society's unequal and conflicting social groups. Carl O'Nell discusses formal and informal mechanisms for social control, and the actual *functionality* of non-violence, a most useful corrective to an enormous and pathological literature on its "functions" among the Zapotec. Michael Carrithers argues ably and explicitly for a new anthropology, the research focus of which would be the historical evolution and deformation of this impulse for sociality among humans. I hope our colleagues take him to heart. All in all, this is an essential new book for anyone struggling to understand the nature of humanity: I intend to adopt it as a text in my course on aggression.

Uneasy Endings: Daily Life in an American Nursing Home
Renée Rose Shield
Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988. xiii + 243 pp. $34.50 (cloth), $12.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Agnes Aamodt
University of Arizona

In 1859 Florence Nightingale wrote her now famous goal for nursing, to wit: "to put the patient in the best condition for nature to act." Nature in this context can be interpreted as the sociocultural, as well as the physical environment of patients wherever they happen to be.

Shield's ethnographic account of daily life in the Franklin Nursing Home is a statement of how far we are from achieving this goal, whether we are nurses, hospital administrators, physicians, social workers or physiotherapists. Her analysis focusses on the structural characteristics of the sociocultural environment that create a gloomy, boring experience in the transition from adulthood to death of an aged, primarily Jewish population.

The book is organized with excerpts from an ethnographic notebook such as: 7:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. shift, resident-care conference, physical therapy, threatened strike, new admission and kitchen. A second set of excerpts are oral history accounts, the words of residents and staff representing the "voices" of this particular nursing home. A final section, the main body of the text, fills three-quarters of the book's 256 pages. The analysis draws from the conceptualizations of liminality and *communitas* as used in the work of Victor Turner. Three theoretical ideas

ground Shield's explanations: the organizational principles accounting for conflict and divisiveness that are often based on different world views of staff members; the passive/receiving role of residents; and the lack of rites of passage between adulthood and death which may also be conceived either as a lack of "*communitas*" in a state of "liminality" or as a lack of bonding and support from a community to help articulate meanings during the passage.

The chapter on liminality of nursing-home life is a valuable account of elements in the transition from adult life in the community to death: separation and dependency, time and a sense of timelessness, dependency and non-reciprocity, old people as children, communication, religion and cultural meanings for healing, losses and unanswerable questions, lack of ritual and feelings of isolation. In an heroic attempt to justify the workings of the nursing home/staff, Shield talks of transforming "a threat of death into the familiarity of nurturance"(p. 209) where the overwhelming needs of the elderly are distanced by a motherly staff rather than confronted with problem-solving strategies familiar to most health professionals.

What is missing in the work is a sense of the multiple stories of Franklin Nursing Home. Shield's intensive 14 months of field research makes a case for the well-known, depressing, cheerless ambience of an average nursing home in today's world. The data fail to enter the imaginative world of stubborn, problem-solving creativeness characteristic of almost all human beings irrespective of age. If, in her ethnographic record, there is no alternative to the cheerless, depressed resident she describes, then we have been truly exposed to an environment where non-persons are allowed to flourish. We can hope Shield will have more to tell us in future work.

Beyond the Breast-Bottle Controversy
Penny Van Esterik
New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1989. xx + 242 pp. $30.00 (cloth), $13.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Roberta D. Baer
University of South Florida

This book aims to go beyond the usual arguments in favour of or against bottle feeding and to place the entire controversy in a broader context of related issues. One of these is the empowerment of women. Van Esterik sees breastfeeding as a feminist issue "because it encourages women's self reliance, confirms a women's power to control her own body, challenges models of women as consumers and sex objects, requires a new interpretation of women's work, and encourages solidarity among women" (p. 69). Another related issue is the medicalization of infant feeding, by which "the jurisdiction of the medical profession has expanded to include infant feeding in both developed and developing countries" (p. 111). A final issue is the commoditization of infant foods, "the process through which infant foods shift from being a human right with a use value embedded in complex personal relations established through shared production and consumption to being an object of exchange – a commodity based on price" (p. 162).

After these links are discussed, the author goes on to suggest that breastfeeding—and the social, policy and institutional supports that are required to make it possible—is an example of sustainable development. She concludes that it is more important to focus on improving conditions that affect women's lives than to be overly concerned with the more narrow issue of infant-feeding decisions.

There are a number of other specific, noteworthy aspects of this book. The four case studies of poor women in Colombia, Kenya, Java and Bangkok (Chapter 2) illustrate the issues and problems in the lives of women and their infants, and put human faces on the more general statements about poor women and the world system. Parts of Chapter 5, "The Commoditization of Infant Food," contain excellent discussions of the prestige aspects of food and the use of infant formula as a status symbol. And finally, Chapter 6 discusses how the various aspects of the argument interconnect, emphasizing the long-term negative consequences of bottle feeding, particularly in the less developed countries.

In sum, this book represents the kinds of contributions that nutritional anthropology can make to the understanding of issues of food consumption by viewing them in a broader context. Van Esterik demonstrates that larger forces, including those of the world system, play an important part in affecting the options of women deciding how and what to feed their infants. This book will be highly useful to anthropologists and other social scientists (as well as health professionals) interested in issues of nutrition, medical systems, gender and development.

Health and the Rise of Civilization
Mark Nathan Cohen
New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989. x + 285 pp. N.p. (cloth)

Reviewer: C.R. Hallpike
McMaster University

The prevailing image of the noble savage, despite a sentimental admiration, has been of someone "poor, ill, and malnourished," while "the major transformations of human society have been portrayed as solutions to age-old problems which liberated human populations from the restraints of nature" (p. 3). Cohen, however, argues that agriculture, sedentism, urbanization, the state and industrialism have not necessarily produced better health and nutrition but rather, in many cases, the reverse. His evidence is based on: (1) modern dietary and epidemiological research, (2) field studies of contemporary hunter-gatherers, and (3) osteological and palaeopathological studies of archaeological sites.

The first category of evidence is the basis for a number of conclusions about the relative advantages of foraging and agriculture. Cohen argues that hunter-gatherer populations are vulnerable to diseases carried by organisms which complete their life cycles in animal hosts or the soil, as opposed to human hosts. Such diseases may be severe but are of limited distribution. Sedentary agriculturalists, however, especially with large populations, are increasingly vulnerable to diseases which depend on human hosts. "Large populations make possible the survival and transmission of certain diseases that could not have survived at all . . . in a prehistoric world populated by relatively small and isolated human groups" (p. 48). Measles,

smallpox, influenza, cholera and bubonic plague are typical of such diseases whose social impact in historic periods is well known. Permanent dwellings, the clearing of forests, the digging of irrigation channels and ponds, the use of animal and human manure, food storage and trade have all been significant factors in the increase of disease since the adoption of agriculture.

With regard to nutrition, most cereals are poor sources of protein, vitamins and minerals, a deficiency which is exacerbated by storage and cooking. Although cereals can be supplemented with other foods, domesticated crops may be less resistant to disease than their wild counterparts, and the failure of monocrops in particular will have proportionately serious consequences for those dependent on them. Centralized agricultural states also have a strong tendency to provide a better quality of health and nutrition for the more powerful classes at the expense of the poor.

Cohen's evidence from contemporary primitive societies only covers hunter-gatherers, and while it is difficult to establish average life-expectancies in such societies, it seems likely that they at least compare favourably with those in India until 1920 and in much of Europe as late as the 18th and early 19th centuries. The data from archaeological sites is mostly limited to the transition from foraging to intensive agriculture or the emergence of large political units in North America. This evidence "provides a very mixed record of changing health," but, Cohen suggests, "I can find no actual evidence of regular child survivorship anywhere in the world until the late nineteenth century" (p. 107). While the present evidence is thin and uneven, it seems likely that "we have built our images of human history too exclusively from the experiences of privileged classes and populations" (p. 140).

It is impossible in this brief review to do justice to the full range of arguments and evidence with which Cohen supports his case (there are 82 pages of notes and 46 of bibliography). Chapter Three, on the evolution of human society, is particularly well done, and the book as a whole can be strongly recommended.

Ten Years Later: Indochinese Communities in Canada
Louis-Jacques Dorais, Kwok B. Chan and Doreen M. Indra, eds.
Montréal: Canadian Asian Studies Association, 1988, 200 pp. N.p. (paper)

Reviewer: Lawrence Lam
York University

While Canada has accepted thousands of Indochinese refugees since the mid-1970s, there is little systematic and comprehensive analysis of their efforts to organize themselves into viable distinctive sociocultural collectivities through which culture shock could be eased and their cultural richness added to a multicultural Canada.

Accordingly, this book is a welcome addition, providing much needed information, not only on the problems experienced by the Indochinese refugees in their attempts to carve out a satisfactory niche in Canadian society (e.g., underemployment and downward mobility), but also on their collective search for cultural identity and attempt to preserve their cultural heritage through the development of eth-

nocultural communities, which may serve as a source of sociocultural and socio-psychological support.

The editors have to be congratulated for their success in having all Canadian regions, from British Columbia to the Maritimes, represented. The representation is particularly important because it challenges the commonly held belief that ethnic community formation is necessarily related to the residential concentration of a specific ethnocultural group. One is intrigued by the case, documented (in Chapter Nine) by Q.B. Tran, of efforts made by a community of only about 500 Indochinese refugees living in Southeast New Brunswick to establish a community organization in spite of internal political cleavages and constant pressures for assimilation.

N. Buchignani (Chapter One) provides a theoretical synthesis of models of social organization and community development with particular emphasis on the critical demand to "produce multidimensional accounts of Indochinese-Canadian peoples' concern, values and choices in the context of social and societal constraints" (p. 30). Chapters Two to Nine, varying in length, respond to this critical demand, highlighting the diversity and richness of Indochinese-Canadian social experience in Canada. Each deals with some aspects of the Indochinese refugees' social and community life.

In Chapter Two, Y.F. Woon and D. Woo aptly describe the ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese Vietnamese in Victoria, whose community development, as a result of their collective response to the prevailing economic conditions, they liken to loose sand. D. Indra's (Chapter Three) empirically grounded analysis of the ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese Vietnamese in Lethbridge argues that understanding of the individual self-concept and self-esteem are linked to community social organization. N.H. Copeland's study (Chapter Four) of the Indochinese community in Winnipeg underscores the importance of the ethnically and functionally specific institutions that ease the strains inherent in the adaptive process. Chapter Five (by P. and J. Van Esterik), traces, albeit briefly, the gradual and progressive development of the distinctive community life of the Vietnamese, Laos and Cambodians in Toronto. With relatively favourable economic conditions in Toronto, they predict that a fuller and more complete Southeast Asian cultural life is inevitable in this metropolis.

Importantly, Chapters Two and Five challenge future studies to consider the possible impact of economic conditions on community development. Findings in Chapter Six (C.D. Le and S. Duy Nguyen) dealing with Vietnamese in Ottawa indicate that occupational achievement by young members of the Vietnamese community in the years to come will be crucial not only in preserving and developing cultural heritage and community life but also in influencing active participation in the political life of Canadian society at large. K.B. Chan's study (Chapter Seven) of community development of the Chinese Indochinese (Sino-Vietnamese, Sino-Khmer and Sino-Lao) in Montréal identifies various organizational problems—financial stability, language abilities, brokering skills, leadership and ethnic divisions—that have effectively impeded the process of building a united and organized collectivity with a common front and a common voice. Chapter Eight (L.J. Dorais) succinctly analyzes the Québec City Indochinese community's ability to cater to many of its own economic, social and cultural needs, as a result, primarily, of the various groups' willingness to link together.

While this book may draw criticism concerning its standards of sampling and interviewing, the editors should have emphasized in their introduction that the various approaches taken by the authors are appropriate and indeed necessary for investigating these diversified and dispersed collectivities, so that varying social experience and empirical richness are not summarily dismissed. Additionally, a concluding chapter should have been written to summarize and synthesize the themes developed by the 13 authors By so doing, they would have facilitated a keener awareness, appreciation and utilization of Canadian society's multicultural make-up and the difficulties and organizational problems of Indochinese communities would be better understood by practitioners, associations and agencies interested in furthering their welfare. Such a concluding chapter would help other scholars to further explore the theoretical and ethnographic contexts of ethnic-community organization.

In sum, this book is very useful and important, the best yet on the varying experiences and community development of Indochinese refugees in Canada.

The Annotated 1990 Indian Act
Donna Lea Hawley
Agincourt, Ontario: Carswell Legal Publications, 1990. N.p. (paper)

Reviewer: James Youngblood Henderson
University College of Cape Breton

The new edition of the Annotated Indian Act is a disappointment. Its major purpose is to be a practical handbook on the federal government's version of band government. It attempts to provide an easy access to the legislative scheme regulating Indians through the eyes of the courts. It contains chapters on Indian Treaties, Governmental Control, the Indian Act, Band Governments, Health and Estates, and Reserve Regulations, clearly the fragmented stuff of "European power freaks" and the "modern brown clones."

The work, however, fails as a handbook for band government. First of all, it ignores the aboriginal form of tribal government, called customary bands in the *Indian Act* and now protected by section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. It concentrates on the imposed forms, even *The Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act, 1986*. The new annotation continues to present an old (19th-century) world view and structure of Indian affairs, which is a lingering legacy of colonialism, systemic racism and thought control, i.e., all the human perspectives which the United Nations, the International Labour Organization and the Marshall Commission in Nova Scotia have attempted to remedy.

The work unreflectively demonstrates the antiquated code, "the Canadian apartheid act," which still forces certain people to organize their lives, government (and now even their dogs) around a foreign vision.

The annotation lacks any perspective which can guide the "brown bureaucrats." It ignores the legislative fact that most services to Indians on reserves are delivered through the *Indian Act* and the provinces, but are not part of the *Indian Act* itself. Moreover, it does not appear that the annotation of judicial decisions has been up-

dated in any comprehensive way. This fragmentation of legislative authority limits the use of the work for modern scholars and renders it unacceptable.

But there are deeper problems with the new annotation. There is a misleading and dated section on treaties. Astonishingly, there is no discussion (or even mention) of the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in *Simon v. the Queen* (1985) 2 S.C.R. 389, which held that the 1752 Treaty with the Mi'kmaq was a valid agreement that protected their hunting rights from the province. Instead, the "1990 Annotation" continues to stress the denial of treaty rights to hunt because the Mi'kmaq were classified as savages by an acting Nova Scotian County Court Judge who concluded, in 1929, that savages cannot make treaties with the Crown. The fact is depressing, since the *Simon* case expressly overruled the *Syliboy* decision by pointing out that the Syliboy case reflected the biases and prejudices of another era in legal history, which were no longer acceptable in Canadian law.

Similarly, in the chapter on governmental control, there is an absence of any discussion of the new constitutional limitations designed to limit governmental authority. It ends with the *Constitution Act, 1867*. There is no discussion of the existing aboriginal and treaty clause (s. 35) or the supremacy clause (s. 52) of the new *Constitution Act, 1982*, or its relations to the federal *Indian Act*. These omissions give the impression there is an unrestrained colonial control over Indians that is still vested in the bureaucrats, rather than in indigenous or tribal values.

More importantly, there is no direct discussion of the relationship between implementing treaty promises and the *Indian Act*. Additionally, there is no discussion of the federal ratification of the *Human Right Covenants* of the U.N., the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1965*, and the *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1981*, of the ILO and the *Indian Act*. While these international human rights covenants and the Racial Discrimination Convention have been ratified by the federal government, there has been no attempt to apply them to Indians or lands reserved to Indians or the Indian-Act structure. These standards should be implemented on Indian reserves which are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government.

These omissions are not harmless. If brown bureaucrats, federal bureaucrats, lawyers or legislatures rely on the annotation, they will implicitly and expressly accept the notion that federal law is required to control aboriginal peoples. The narrow focus of the new annotation renews the colonial mentality and affords support to the old legal climate, a culture of oppression which limits discourse and takes away the voice of aboriginal people. It enables the dominant class, the immigrants, to maintain and justify their legal ascendancy over the aboriginal people, thus reinforcing new tensions which are expressed in racial hatred and discrimination.

The new work has some value to modern scholars. It documents colonialism and racism in the federal legislation and in the courts. While racism and prejudices usually do not have a physical reality, the annotation is a fascinating, although evil, analysis of racism and white superiority in the history of ideas and legal history of Canada. It is a legal legacy which should be studied and be resisted, but not used, by anyone as a guide to future actions.

With One Sky Above Us: Life on an American Indian Reservation at the Turn of the Century
M. Gidley
Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1985 (originally published in 1979 by Putnam, New York). 158 pp. $9.95 (paper)

Reviewer: George Pierre Castile
Whitman College

This paperback reissue should serve to make the photographs of Edward H. Latham more widely known and available. It depicts life on the Colville Indian reservation where Latham served as the agency physician from 1890 until 1910. The photos are the point and virtue of this book, and make it well worth examining.

Latham's photos are poignant glimpses of a people only recently impounded on reserves and in the midst of forced assimilation at the hands of men like Latham himself. They are not the romantic, salvage re-creations of Edward Curtis, whose work Gidley had also edited and commented upon. Gidley, whose interest is as much aesthetic as ethnographic, has some trouble characterizing Latham's work, but comes closest in my opinion when he says the "subjects were considered as museum pieces." Latham's technique is much like that of a latter-day archaeologist who photographs as dispassionately as possible against a totally neutral background. The passion and despair of the Indian people only appear by oversight, and we learn of Indian reality almost in spite of Latham.

Latham's own commentary makes it clear that like most of those who administered the lives of Indian peoples in that era, he saw little of positive value in the Indian. He reserved his approval only for those who in some sense had become "white." In a way, this book tells us more about Latham and members of the "other tribe," the men who undertook the "civilization" of the native Americans. Like so many of them, Latham was a marginal man, a failure and a misfit in his own world and never at home with that of his charges. This book represents another welcome addition to those which are recently beginning to examine that "other tribe."

In his own commentary, Gidley has obviously sought to write for a lowest common denominator audience, and his historical remarks seem appropriate for those with no prior knowledge of reservation life. Unfortunately, he tends toward a degree of romantic oversimplification in the manner of Dee Brown. Although the biographical section on Latham is the primary area of original contribution, Gidley's primary interest and expertise seem to lie in the realm of the aesthetic, and it is probably unfair to judge him in other terms. Whatever one's view of the commentary, the book is well worth the price for the pictures alone.

Between Theatre & Anthropology
Richard Schechner
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985. xiv + 342 pp. $35.00 (cloth), $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Frank E. Manning
University of Western Ontario

When Claude Lévi-Strauss met Roman Jacobsen in New York during World War II, the *entente* led them on parallel, though at times convergent, paths: structural anthropology for Lévi-Strauss and structural linguistics for Jacobsen. Three decades later, another meeting took place, also in New York, between Victor Turner and Richard Schechner. Again, the exchange opened parallel paths as well as active collaboration. Turner espoused "performance ethnography," the playscripting and acting-out of ethnographic monographs as a means both of better appreciating the native experience, and of developing a critique of how that experience is communicated in conventional anthropological writing. Schechner pursued "theatre anthropology," an approach aimed at introducing cross-cultural materials into theatre as well as at understanding, and experimenting with, the social basis of performance situations. Their common interests brought Turner and Schechner together in numerous conferences and workshops, which in turn established them as the nucleus of a seminal group of performance scholars.

Between Theatre & Anthropology is Schechner's account of life on the "liminoid" track—a fast one, at that—between disciplines that have come to achieve a cozy mutual admiration. Coverage is highly personal, centring on the author's work as a theatre director, his forays into non-Western cultures and the activities of his close collaborators. The seven chapters were originally written and published as separate essays, but have been revised for the present volume. Nonetheless, in style and scope the book is recognizably an anthology, not a unified study—a sampling, provocatively put together, of Schechner's views about what anthropology and theatre have to say to each other.

Schechner's insistence on cultural variety in theatre stems from his view that the modern world is "intercultural." It is a "world of colliding cultures no longer dominated by Europeans and Americans, and no longer capable of being dominated by anyone" (p. 149). Schechner implements this understanding by having his own company perform a Japanese ritual in an experimental theatre for an American audience, or by bringing an international conference of performance scholars to a black Pentecostal church in Brooklyn. Obviously, he rejects the notion that a performance must be traditional in order to be authentic. A Haitian voodoo service performed by trained actors for a tourist audience has as much claim to authenticity as one performed by conventional ritual specialists for a congregation of devotees. This view, while discomforting to the romantics and purists among us, is ironically consistent with what anthropologists have usually said about cultural relativity.

Schechner highlights the subjunctive qualities of theatre, an emphasis that was undoubtedly nurtured through his work with Turner. For example, he describes "performance consciousness" as a "celebration of contingency" that is "full of

alternatives and potentiality'' (p. 6). The fullest statement of this position is made in his thesis that the essence of dramatic action is the ''restoration of behavior'' – that is, the creative reconstruction of behaviour that has been removed from its social and psychological contexts outside the performance setting. ''Put in personal terms,'' he writes, ''restored behavior is 'me behaving as if I am someone else' or 'as if I am beside myself,' or 'not myself,' as when in trance'' (p. 37).

Schechner's major interest lies in restorations of behaviours that are not bound by fixed rules and roles, as in stereotyped conceptions of classical theatre, but instead are negotiable, open-ended and continually subject to revision and improvisation. He deals at length with theme parks like Plimouth Plantation and Fortress Louisbourg. In these parks actor-employees are given ''biographs'' of historical figures whom they ''play'' in a simulation of daily life that is performed for an audience of tourists, who not only watch the proceedings but also are encouraged to participate in them and thus to ''interact'' with the principal *dramatis personae.* Encompassing and refiguring a bewildering diversity of conventional dramatic frames, this type of contrived ethnographic setting is regarded by Schechner as crucially important in the development of a performance theory that is informed by contemporary society and popular culture.

A rather different example of the suspension and confusion of customary dramatic frames is seen in Belle de Jour, a sadomasochistic theatre in New York where members of the ''audience,'' male and female, are invited to come on stage and either spank others or be spanked, with the victim's buttocks fully exposed. One regular patron, a mechanic in ''real life,'' is particularly fond of having Belle, the middle-aged buxom impresario who runs the show, urinate into his mouth and drive a three-inch nail through his penis. For Schechner, this sort of theatre is *inter alia* a rough-cut version of the evening news on television, where violence is treated as entertainment and given sexual appeal through newscasters chosen for their implicit, but thinly-veiled, sexuality. He contends that the significance of the violence-entertainment-sex formula is more apparent in the widespread media coverage that is given to a ''good sexy murder trial'' (p. 321) – a contention, one suspects, that is readily corroborated by the recent Buxbaum case in Southern Ontario.

Schechner envisions a future where ''metaphoric'' (artistic) knowledge will enjoy parity with ''linear'' (empirical) knowledge (pp. 149-150). Unfortunately, there is a cultural lag between this ideal and the book itself, which is burdened with all types of linear communication – lists, classification schemes, charts, graphs and structural maps, some embellished with mathematical subscripts and other geometric figures. Schechner seems driven to identify, with absolute precision, the significance of his performance experience in an attempt to abstract theory from it. The exhibited result is an almost obsessive reflexivity, which is at odds with much of the book's general argument.

Such problems notwithstanding, *Between Theatre & Anthropology* is undoubtedly a major work in the field of performance studies. It promises both to keep Schechner's name at the forefront of that field, and to reward the reader with ideas that, like modern theatre, will entertain, disturb and engage.

Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach
Suzanne J. Kessler and Wendy McKenna
Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1985 (originally published in 1978 by Wiley, New York). xv + 232 pp. $10.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Alice Schlegel
University of Arizona

The thesis of this book is that gender is a social construction. This comes as no surprise to anthropologists, who long have looked at gender roles and the symbolization of sex as part of culture, i.e., as socially learned. However, the authors take this further than many anthropologists would care to go. They claim that several genders can exist in a culture or that gender is a gradient. Using transsexuals and the institution of the berdache to support their argument, they deny that there is any biological basis to gender. A careful reading of the literature on transsexuals and the berdache indicates just the opposite. Transsexuals wish and strive to become the other gender, not some third gender in between. The information on the berdache has been taken from M.K. Martin and B. Voorhies (*Female of the Species* [Columbia University Press, 1975]) who suggest that third genders may have been acknowledged in some North American Indian societies where the transformation from the sex at birth to the opposite gender was not complete. However, there is considerable difference between a third gender, which would be a "normal" category equivalent to the other two, and an anomaly. I question Martin and Voorhies's interpretation of the berdache as a third gender, and therefore I do not see it as supporting the argument of this book. Interestingly, many of the societies that have recorded cases of berdaches include a two-gender opposition among other kinds of symbolic oppositions—male:female::winter:summer::hard substances are to soft substances, etc. Room for flexibility within and between categories does not necessarily indicate the presence of a third category.

Another point at which anthropologists will part company with the authors is in the short shrift they give to reproduction as determining gender roles (p. 165). Dealing as we do with societies in which fertility is a central concern and in which the institutions concerned with reproduction, marriage and kinship, form the basis of much social and political action, we are unlikely to dismiss it for being as socially irrelevant as the authors do. In most societies, a woman or man is not even an adult until marriage, and then not fully adult until children are born. Anthropologists do not need to be reminded of the economics and politics of reproduction.

This book makes a plea for breaking away from a restrictive view of gender roles. This is commendable. But I have not been convinced that multiple genders are necessary or even possible. In my view, gender differences are for the most part culturally constructed but are attached to the sex difference. We are a two-sexed species and, for better or for worse, a two-gendered one as well.

The Discourse of Law
Sally Humphreys, ed.
New York: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1985. 224 pp. (Volume 1, Part 2 in the History and Anthropology Series, pp. 241-465). $62.00 (paper), $19.50 for 10 or more copies

Reviewer: E. Adamson Hoebel
University of Minnesota

History and Anthropology is a new (1985) international publishing venture which "aims to bring together scholars from both disciplines in a way that will cause both groups to view their scholarly ideas in a new light" (inside cover). Bound in softcover, it has the appearance of a periodical, although it is in fact an intermittent series of which each issue is a discrete volume focussed on a single theme and intended "to include a broad survey of the state-of-the-art as well as samples of significant work in progress" (ibid.).

The contents of this issue are grouped in four parts: an Introduction; Law and Local Knowledge; Law and Local Power; and the Legal Discourse: Speech and Silences.

As volume editor, Sally Humphreys undertakes to provide a background setting with a sketchy essay on the development of legal anthropology and what is meant by the concept of law as discourse. The historical sketch, however, is unfortunately too thin to be of much value. It is poorly integrated and often misleading in its emphases, especially with respect to legal realism, in which Roscoe Pound was hardly a major figure, as implied; nor was a search for analogues between Anglo-American legal practices and those of small-scale communities a significant characteristic in its application to anthropology. Legal realism's application of the case method and its attention to behaviour and inductive determination of legal regularities are two of Humphreys' egregious silences.

The critical issue is, however, just how useful as a research concept is the idea of law as discourse. Discourse has a number of meanings, and it is never made really clear as to which is evoked as an organizing principle. The editor describes it "as a combination of speech and action which is inherently historical and political" (pp. 254 and 257). But this is true of all sociocultural phenomena, and it is too fuzzy to serve as an effective analytical tool. All but three of the eight contributing authors simply ignore it in the organization of their presentations.

On the other hand, what does make most of the studies which are offered as significant work in progress interesting and informative is their solid ethnographic quality along with their special attention to the social and political milieu that influenced the actors of the particular time and place.

The range of the papers is wide: Sir Henry Maine (Adam Kuper); Classical Athens (S. Humphreys); Medieval Islam in the Middle East (A. Udovitch); Ninth-Century Brittany (W. Davies); 18th-Century England (W. Nipple); 19th-Century British India (E. Whitcombe); 19th-Century Brazil (M.C. da Cunha); and 19th- and 20th-Century North Lebanon. Some of the papers are brief and unpretentious, as is Whitcombe's paper on the British attempt to establish a proprietary system of land law in India. It says a lot in seven pages, and with little supporting evidence (only

two buttressing footnotes and references). At the other extreme is Humphreys' mini-monograph, on the role and character of witnesses in Classical Athens, which consumes one-third of the entire volume (66 pages with hundreds of intra text references, plus 101 footnotes and a five-page bibliography)!

Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts
Douglas Cole
Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1985. xiii + 373 pp. $24.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Karen Duffek
University of British Columbia

Canadians visiting museums on this continent and abroad must often wonder how Northwest Coast native artifacts found their way from British Columbia into collections as far distant as New York, Berlin and Leningrad. Historian Douglas Cole has scoured the records of 25 museums, collector's papers and museum monographs to uncover a story of intense rivalry among museums for possession of aboriginal material.

The heyday of organized anthropological collecting on the Northwest Coast, by men commissioned by museums, began in 1875 and continued with compelling urgency for 50 years. "The scramble for skulls and skeletons, for poles and paddles, for baskets and bowls, for masks and mummies, was pursued sometimes with respect, occasionally with rapacity, often with avarice. By the time it ended there was more Kwakiutl material in Milwaukee than in Mamalillikulla . . . and New York City probably housed more British Columbia material than British Columbia herself" (p. 286).

Cole's narrative begins with James G. Swan, whose 1875-76 expedition for the United States Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia was the first major collecting to be commissioned on the Northwest Coast. The encroaching activities of French and German collectors prompted others to compete. Director Adolf Bastian of the Royal Ethnology Museum in Berlin had proclaimed the urgent need for museums to salvage what could still be saved of Northwest Coast material culture for the sake of ethnological science. In 1881, Bastian sent J. Adrian Jacobsen to the British Columbia coast to collect what amounted to at least 2400 pieces. The race against time became a race among North American institutions as well. Museums in Washington, New York and Chicago extended their rivalries into the field, and were later joined by Canadian museums. Cole chronicles the sometimes fair, sometimes foul collecting methods of George Emmons, Franz Boas, Charles Newcombe and others, including the native collectors George Hunt and Louis Shotridge. Each lamented the impending destruction of native tribes, but also feared that the other collectors might beat him there.

In the final two chapters of the book, Cole draws together the themes and patterns that emerge from his narrative. He does not attempt to mask the truth that "on the coast the impact of western culture was simultaneous with the collector's work and in great measure assisted it" (p. 295). While recognizing the inequalities of the trading relationship and the dearth of traditional objects now in native hands, Cole takes a firm though debatable stand in his conclusion: museums are now the

"partial legatees" of Northwest Coast culture, and to them we owe the preservation of artifacts that would otherwise "have been lost, dispersed, or decayed" (p. 311).

Douglas Cole has filled a large gap in Northwest Coast scholarship with his meticulously-researched, provocative account connecting the history of collecting with the development of museums. His work is of particular importance for anthropologists studying the process by which native material culture has been recontextualized and redefined. As part of this process, native people today are reclaiming the objects made and used by their ancestors in a new affirmation of their distinctive cultural identity. The "captured heritage" of the Northwest Coast continues to grow in significance for natives and non-natives alike.

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Nicholas N. Smith has collected material among the Wabanaki Indians for 40 years. For 39 of those years Dr. Peter L. Paul was his primary teacher and informant of traditional Malecite life. Smith has written and lectured about many aspects of traditional Wabanaki life that he learned from Paul and other Maliseet, Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians. Smith is compiler of WABIB, a computerized annotated bibliography with key words and tribal designations, and is also known for his studies of the Cree of northern Quebec and Ontario.

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Roy Wagner is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Virginia. He was educated at Harvard College and at the University of Chicago. He has conducted field research among the Daribi of Mt. Karimui and the Usen Barok of New Ireland in Papua New Guinea. He has written on myth, social structure, religion and comparative symbology among Melanesian peoples. His publications include *Symbols that Stand for Themselves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), *The Invention of Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall), *Habu: The Innovation of Meaning in Daribi Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) and, as editor, *Death Rituals and Life in the Societies of the Kula Ring* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press).

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